

39

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PERSECUTIONS
OF THE
Reformed Churches
IN
FRANCE,
ORANGE,
AND
PIEDMONT.

From the year 1655. to this time.

Shewing by what Steps, Artifices and Perfidious Practices they were destroyed.

WITH
A Short Account of the Present Condition of the
Protestants in *France*, and elsewhere.

Wherein are many remarkable passages never before printed.

L O N D O N,
Printed for Tho. Newborough in St Paul's Church-yard, and
John Nicholson at the Kings Arms in Little-Brittain. 1699.

ADVERTISEMENT.

AN Account of the present condition of the Protestants in the *Palatinate*. In two Letters to an *English Gentleman*.

AN Account of the sufferings of the *French* Protestants, Slaves on board the *French Kings* Gallies. By *Elias Neau*, one of their fellow Sufferers. Together with a list of those who are still on board the said Gallies. Both Printed for *T. Newborough* in *St Pauls Church yard*, and *J. Nicholson* at the *Kings Arms* in *Little Brittain*, and *Richard Parker* at the *Unicorn* under the *Royal Exchange*.

T H E I N T R O D U C T I O N .

OF all the Sects of Religion that have appeared in the world, from *Adam* down to this time, Popery is certainly the most ridiculous and pernicious to mankind. The worshipping of a Crocodile, an Onyon, and other things of this nature, is indeed very extravagant and foolish; but do not the Papists likewise worship Paper, Wood and Stone? And what is the extravagancy of the ancient Heathens, if compared to that of the Romanists, who believe that their Priests can change a piece of Wafer into the living Body of their God, which God cannot defend himself against Rats and Mice?

As the belief of the Transubstantiation destroying the evidence of our Senses, and the testimony of our Reason, renders Men Brutes instead of rational beings, so some other Doctrines of their Church, striking at the very foundation of Civil Society, and depriving them of the very instincts of Nature, render 'em Enemies to the rest of Mankind, and dispose them to all manner of Injustice, Violence and Oppression. All other Religions in the World have contented themselves with the liberty of professing their opinions, and endeavouring by reason and exhortation, to bring others to their Belief, but the Popish Church holds for a Maxim, that it is Lawful to ruin people, who differ from her Doctrines, to put 'em to the Rack, and to all other exquisite Torments, under the pious pretence to convert them to the Catholic Faith, and if they prove stubborn and refractory to burn or murder them as Beasts. What can be more pernicious to the World? I know the Heathens exercised great severities on the primitive Christians, but their Persecution and Violences may be looked upon as the Act of private Men, their Religion allowing no such thing, whereas all the Inhumanities committed by the Papists are justly charged upon their Religion.

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Solemn Oaths and Treaties have been respected in all Ages, and make the foundation of Society, but the whole Church of *Rome*, in a Council tells her Sectaries, that Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks; and to remove all scruples of timerous Consciences, they have set up a God of their own making, who pretends to have the power to absolve people from those obligations. I have read Histories and accounts of most Nations in the World, but I am yet to learn, that any Sect of Religion besides Popery ever held such dangerous Maxims.

It were to be wished for the good of Mankind, that Papists might truly say, that the opinions I have taken Notice of are speculative, or consequences which they abhor and deny, but we have but too many lamentable instances, to shew that they put in practice those Doctrines, whenever they have any opportunity, and even that their constant aim is to destroy the rest of the World, or bring them to their perswasion, and under the Tyranny of the Pope. I must not look so far back as the *Croisades*, or barbarous expeditions against the Antient *Waldenses*, I'll content myself with some other instances of a fresher date, such as the violent Reign of our Queen *Mary*, the Bloody Massacre of *Paris*, and other Cities in *France* under *Charles IX*, the Gunpowder Plot, under King *James, I.* the barbarous murder of the Protestants in *Ireland* in the year 1641, the Massacre of the *Vandois* in the year 1655, and lastly, the cruel and inhumane persecution of the Protestants in *Hungary, Piemont, and France*, whereby the latter have been quite extirminated. If these instances are not sufficient to prove, that the Genius of the Romish Church is to persecute and destroy all Men, who do not submit to her extravagant opinions, and that therefore it is the most pernicious Sect that ever was, I am sure nothing can be proved in the World.

Neither are the Roman Catholicks ashamed to own that Character. Several Authors have written to prove, that the Catholick Faith must be planted with Fire and Sword, and made Apologies, or rather Panegyricks on the most villanous executions that ever were. The famous * *Muret* in his Harangue before *Gregory XIII.* is ravished into admiration, considering the Massacre of *Paris*, and speaks of it in the following Terms; A Memorable Night, says he, worthy of being ingraven in large Characters in History, &c. I think that the Stars shone that night brighter than usual, and that the River *Seine* swelled it self to carry off into the Sea with a greater rapidity the dead Bodies of those impure Persons (the Reformed.) Oh, thrice Happy Woman *Katherine of Medicis*, Mother of the King, &c. O happy Brothers of the King, &c. Oh! Glorious and Rejoycing day, where-

Muret Orat
xxii. pro
Carolo ix.

* wherein you, most Holy Father, upon that Advice, assisted a-
 * foot to the Processions you had appointed to return thanks to
 * God and St Lewis. What more acceptable news could you have
 * received, and what more auspicious beginning of your Pontificate,
 * could we have wished for, &c. The Author of the *Journal des*
Seavans of Paris, speaking of the Methods to be used for con-
 * verting Hereticks, commends Force and Violence against such
 as are obstinate, and extols to the Skys the *Catholick Zeal* of a
 King of *Norway*, who converted the Noblemen of his Country
 by threatning them to *Flea their Children alive before their eyes if*
they would not consent to have them baptized, and to be baptized
themselves. This is the Language of the Bloody *Babylon*, who is
 always thirsty after the Blood of the Martyrs, and who calls the
 days of those barbarous Massacres, her *glorious days*, her days of
Triumph.

The Church of *Rome* having so openly and so often mani-
 fested her Hellish designs against all such who differ from her
 opinions, and especially against our Prelates, one wou'd think it
 is useless to write upon this subject in a Protestant Country,
 where it is supposed every body knows her treacherous Character,
 and stands upon his Guard against her malice. I must confess I
 thought so my self, and that the late Revolution had made
 such a breach between *England* and *Rome*, that we were become
 irreconcilable for ever; but I am sorry to own that I have
 been mistaken, and whosoever will beat the pains to make the
 same inquiry that I have made, will find that Popery steals
 once more upon us. The Popish Priests are as busy and impu-
 dent as ever, and pervert to their Idolatry a considerable number
 of people: there are Laws indeed against them, but no body
 minds their execution, and tho their Mass-Houses, erected con-
 trary to Law, are as well known as publick Market-places, yet
 such is our Clemency for 'em, that we very quietly suffer their
 evil practices. In short, they have all the Liberties other Subjects
 have, and I defy all of 'em to bring an instance, that one single
 Roman Catholick has suffered any hardship upon account of his
 Religion: Were Papists of the same temper as other Men, so
 great a Lenity would have made them thankful; but instead of
 expressing any gratitude for our kindness, they complain to the
 Court of *Rome*, that they are so miserably harassed and persecuted
 in *Great Britain*, that the Pope has been obliged to appoint a
 General Fast in their behalf. Certainly this is a Master-piece
 of Impudence, but at the same time the greatest proof they
 could give of the opinion they have of the *Moderation* of our
 Nation, for were not they firmly perswaded that we are mode-

rate in that respect to a fault, they wou'd never have provoked us at this rate.

While they proclaim abroad that they are persecuted in *Great Britain*, they proclaim here that the persecution of the French Protestants is a Chimera, and I don't know by what Fatality it happens, that their Lies find some credit even amongst the best sort of People. If we believe them, the French Refugees came over all of 'em in *Wooden Shoes*; and Poverty alone, and not Persecution forced them to quit their Native Country. They positively assure, that they might go home with a full Liberty of Conscience if they pleased, and tell thousands Lies of the like Nature, whereby not only the Mob, but likewise too many of a higher Sphere, are grown weary of those French Protestants, who live amongst us; to the great scandal of our Religion, which ought to inspire us with sentiments of Compassion, Love and Charity for a people, who have so much suffered for the truth of the same Religion we profess. I know our Common people complain that the French Protestants take their Bread from their mouths, to use their own Phrase; but this is a meer mistake, for if any one would make an enquiry into this matter, he would find that a world of French Papists have settled themselves here since the Peace, besides the great number of 'em that were here before. 'Tis of such people they ought to complain, and with Justice too, for such is our folly, if not rather madness, that we think that no *English*, *Dutch* or *French* Protestant is able to make a Perriwig, a Bed, or any other thing so well as a *French* Papist; and this is the reason why so many *Incendiaries* come and settle amongst us.

As these insinuations of the *French* Papists do manifestly tend to the endangering of our Religion, and the introducing of Popery amongst us, which is ten thousand times worse than the most violent Plague, I design to give you a compendious History of the Persecutions exercised by order of the *French* King on his own Subjects, those of his present Majesty in the Principality of *Orange*, and the Poor *Vandois* in the Valleys of *Piedmont*; and were my Book to have the same fate as an Account of the said Persecution, published here in the year 1686, which was burnt by the Hangman at the solicitation of the *French* Ambassador, I am resolved to call things by their proper names, and shew that the Persecution of the *French* Protestants is the most unnatural, barbarous and Tyrannical that ever was. I won't except the violence of *Antiochus*, nor of the antient Persecutors of the primitive Church; for whosoever will compare the Persecutions exercised by those Tyrants, with those that the Protestants have suffered

fer'd in *France*, will agree that the Modern Persecutors have outdone the Antient. 'Tis true, that as they have been equally animated by the Devil, their Actions are like enough to make a Parallel, which I won't attempt in this place, there being already in print a Parallel between *Antiochus* and some of the Modern Persecutors, and materials enough in the excellent Preface of my Lord Bishop of *Salisbury* to *Lactantius's* Account of the Death of the primitive Persecutors, to make a much larger one.

I know some people will object, that the *Mahometan* Religion is founded upon violence and persecution, whereas I said that no Religion besides Popery held such maxims; but I persist in my former opinion, and say that whatever violences *Mahomet* or his Setators, committed at first, they cannot be charged upon his Religion, who has so much softened those wild Nations who profess it, that they suffer quietly among them the Christians, tho' these believe and say that Mahometanism is but an Imposture. A Protestant paying a certain duty to the Grand Signior, is as free in *Turkey* as in *England*, and enjoys the protection of his Highness as much as the best Mussulman; whereas the *French* Protestants, tho' faithful to a fault to their Prince, and paying heavy Taxes, have been deliver'd up to the merciless fury of Souldiers, tho' they had done nothing against the Civil Society which deserved the forfeiture of their Lives or Estate. In short, to conclude, I know that the *Spirit of Persecution* is not only warranted by a long custom, and continued practice without interruption, in the Church of *Rome*, but that it is confirmed by the authority of the Popes, and even of General Councils; whereas I defy the Papiists to shew me any other Church, who has persecution established into a Law, and who has always delighted to bath herself in blood, as Popery.

I design to divide this Book into three parts. The first will contain an Abridgment of the condition of the *French* Churches under the present *French* King, since the beginning of his Reign down to the year 1685, with a short account of the numberless vexations and oppressions that were made use of to extirpate the Protestants. The second will treat of the Revocation of the Edict of *Nants*, and of the cruel and unknown methods practised by the Clergy of *France* to convert the Protestants to the Catholic Faith, and their success therein, together with an account of the expedition of the *French* Troops against the Subjects of his Majesty of *Great Britain* in the Principality of *Orange*, and the poor *Vandois*. And in the third part, I intend to give a relation of the condition of such the said Protestants, who have remained in *France*, since the beginning of the late War to this time.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Containing an account of the condition of the French Protestants since the beginning of the Reign of the French King, to the year 1685.

THe Family of *Valois* being extinct in the person of *Henry* the Third, King of *France*, who was murdered at *St. Clou*, near *Paris*, by a *Jacobin* Fryar called *James Clement*, whom the zealous *Papists* canonized as a Saint and Martyr; the King of *Navarr*, of the Family of *Bourbon*, came to the Throne, and was called *Henry* the Fourth. As this Prince was a Protestant, most of the *Roman* Catholicks who served under him while *Henry* the Third was alive, deserted his party, and the Protestants alone stood by him with their Lives and Fortunes. But the difficulties that Prince met with from the *Papists* were such, that he had the weakness to renounce his Religion to save his Crown. His Conversion, as they called it, disappointed the designs of the *League*, and the Kingdom being pacified, his first thoughts were to settle a lasting Peace and Union between all his Subjects in point of Religion, and appointed some Conferences, wherein the Regulations which were thought necessary for so good a purpose, were debated, and agreed upon. The King having examin'd the resolutions of those Conferences, confirmed the same by an Edict, which was called the Edict of *Nants*, because it was given in that place; wherein it is expressed, that the said Edict should be perpetual and irrevocable, and that the Governours of Provinces and other Magistrates should swear the observation thereof.

That solemn Edict, and the eternal obligations the Protestants had laid upon the Family of *Bourbon*, gave 'em hopes that they should not be any more exposed to the Infidelities they had met with from the Family of *Valois*; but the rage of the *Papists* was but suspended for a while, and the Protestants felt the effects thereof soon after the death of *Henry the Great*, who was murdered in *Paris*, by a most Catholick Villain.

King *Lewis XIII.* upon his accession to the Throne, confirmed the Edict of *Nants* given by his Father, and in the Edict published

lished for that purpose, *May 22, 1610*, that is few days after the murder of his Father, clears the Protestants from the calumnies of their enemies, who accused them of having involved the Kingdom in Civil Wars. The expressions are so remarkable, that I think it will not be amiss to transcribe here some few lines. "Experience, says the King, having convinced the Kings our Predecessors, that the *Fury* and *Violence* of Arms have been not only useless for recalling to the Catholick Church such of our Subjects who have separated from the same, but rather highly prejudicial, they employed Lenity by a more happy advice, and granted the exercise of the said pretended Reformed Religion which they profess. The late King, our most honoured Lord and Father, following that example, gave the Edict of *Nants* for reconciling all our Subjects, and the observation thereof, and of the regulations made by virtue of the same, established a firm tranquility amongst them, which has lasted since without any interruption. Therefore tho the said Edict of *Nants* is perpetual and irrevocable, and needs no confirmation, yet that our Subjects of the said Religion may be assured of our favour, and that we intend that the said Edict given for the common good and tranquility of our Subjects, both Catholick and Reformed, be exactly and inviolably observed, we, &c. From these words it manifestly follows, that the Wars upon account of Religion, which had so much disturbed the Kingdom of *France*, were not occasioned by the Protestants, but proceeded from the *Persecuting Genius* of Popery, and that the Edict of *Nants* was irrevocable, and became a fundamental Law of the Monarchy.

The same King confirmed it again in his riper years with the same restriction; and in all these Edicts acknowledges the Fidelity of his Subjects of the Reformed Religion. However, he soon forgot the wise Maxims he had laid down in the aforesaid Edict, and being prevailed upon by Jesuits, and other enemies of the Peace of the World, the said Edict was violated in several parts of the Kingdom, and in the most material points. These Infractions occasioned a new War and new Trouble, which were ended by new Edicts of Pacification, the last of which was given at *Nismes* in the year 1629. That Prince sent afterwards Commissioners into the Provinces to cause those Edicts to be executed; but notwithstanding the Edicts and Declarations, the Privileges of the Reformed were again violated, and the Council of State gave several arrests contrary thereunto.

Lewis XIII being dead, the present *French* King succeeded him, and following the example of his Father, confirmed the

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the Edict of *Nants*, by a Declaration given with the consent of the Queen his Mother, and of all the Princes of the Blood, on the 8th of *July* 1643, wherein he acknowledges that the said Edict being perpetual had no need of Confirmation, but that it was for a greater security, and commands the strict observation thereof.

The troubles the Minority of the *French* King was attended with, interrupted the Hellish designs of the Enemies of the Protestants, so that they enjoyed some Tranquility during that time, and expressed so great a Zeal and Fidelity for the Crown, that the King himself being come to his Maturity, confirmed again the Edicts of *Nants* on the 21st of *May* 1652; and owns, that the Reformed had given certain proofs of their Fidelity and Affection to him during the troubles. But that Calm lasted but a little while, the King was no sooner firmly settled in his Throne, which he owed in a great measure to the Protestants, but the Papists renewed their design against them, and in the year 1656 obtained a Declaration of the King, whereby the former given in the year 1652 was revoked, and the King declared, that he would send Commissioners into the Provinces for executing the former Edicts and Declarations. The Protestants, foreseeing the designs of their Enemies, and that the revoking of the Declaration given in the year 1652, would be of a dangerous consequence, made an humble representation to the King about it, and tho the Council of State ordered, that notwithstanding their opposition, the said Declaration should be registered and executed, yet the National Synod held at *Loudun* in the year 1659 took such effectual measures to prevent the effects thereof, that they thought fit to lay it aside, till a more favourable opportunity, which presented soon after the marriage of the King with the Infanta of *Spain*, and the Death of the Cardinal *Mazarine*, who tho an *Italian*, would not suffer the Clergy to carry things to the last extremities. But before I proceed any further, I am obliged to take notice of the cruel Massacre of the *Vandois*, which hapned in the year 1655, and the seizing of the Principality of *Orange* by the French King;

The Churches of the Valleys of *Piedmont*, known by the name of the *Vandois*, boast and with much justice, to have preserved the Doctrine, which they profess at this day, from the Apostolical Times, and therefore stood in no need of a Reformation, having never received the gross Errors and Idolatries, with which the Church of *Rome* had infected the rest of the World, but seeing the Doctrine of the Reformers was conform to their own in all the essential points thereof, they joined with them, and made but one and the same Communion. The Papists being sensible that

that the Antiquity of these Churches, which all their Arguments could never overthrow, was an undoubted proof of the Novelty of their own, have left no Stone unturned to compleat their Destruction : The Popes have published *Croisades* against them, and their Inquisitors have at several times made use of all the Cruelties that Hell itself could invent, but notwithstanding their rage and violence, God hath preserved them by a continual Miracle of his Providence, and three and thirty Wars which they have maintained, and several Massacres have not been able to destroy them. The Valleys they inhabit are neither rich nor pleasant, and they have no Silver Mines, nor any thing else of this Nature, which may have occasioned those Wars, especially considering they were always an inoffensive people, peaceable, faithful to their Sovereigns, without ambition, and contented with the product of their Valleys and Industry, therefore their Religion, and no other cause has brought all those Calamities upon them. All Historians, even those of the contrary party, are agreed that these Churches have continued in an immemorial possession of the exercise of their Religion before they fell under the Dominion of the Dukes or Counts of *Savoy*, which hapned in the year 1233, when *Thomas* Count of *Savoy* made himself master of the Cities of *Pignerol*, and the Valleys of *Piedmont*, under pretence that the race of the Princes of *Piedmont* was extinct. It is also certain, that the *Vandois* did not submit to the said Counts, but on condition, that they should be maintained in their privileges ; and accordingly those Princes have from time to time, granted them several Authentick Concessions, particularly in the years 1561, 1602, and 1603, which being enacted and enrolled in the Senate and Chamber of *Accompts* of *Turin* in the year 1620, in consideration of a great sum of Money paid by the *Vandois*, as appears by the Act of Enrolment, those Concessions passed in form of an irrevocable, perpetual and inviolable Law, which was again confirmed and commanded to be observed by several Solemn Decrees of the Dukes of *Savoy* in the years 1638, 1649, and 1654.

The *Vandois* were then very quiet and peaceable in their Valleys under the protection of these Laws ; but their Enemies taking advantage of the Minority of *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, obtained an Edict in the year 1655, whereby they were commanded to depart his Dominions in three days after, the publication thereof upon pain of Death and confiscation of their Estates, unless they would promise to embrace the Catholic Religion in twenty days. A Thunder-Clap in clear frosty weather would not be so surprizing as that Edict was to the

poor *Vandois*, who had committed nothing to deserve such a severe treatment. They immediately advised together, what was fit to be done in that difficult juncture, and resolved to forsake neither their Country nor their Religion, but to send a Deputation to their Prince, to endeavour to obtain the revocation of that cruel Proscription. Their Deputies were not admitted, and the Court of *Turin* sent an Army, to force them to comply with the Dukes orders. I will not attempt to describe here, the cruelties committed by the Soldiers, they are not to be expressed; *Europe* was astonished thereat, and Posterity will speak of that horrid Massacre, as one of the most infamous and perfidious Actions that ever was committed in the World. They murdered all such who fell into their hands, without any distinction of Sex, Age, or Condition, after having first ravished the Women, and, in short, executed their Commission in such a manner, that the Church of *Rome* thought to have for ever exterminated that people.

However, many escaped their Fury, and having gathered together in the Mountains, they maintained themselves therein with so much bravery and success, that after having several times defeated their Enemies, their Prince was obliged to grant them honourable terms by the intercession of the Neighbouring Princes.

As some French Troops were concerned in that barbarous expedition, and had shewed themselves the best Actors in that bloody Tragedy, the French Churches upon advice thereof were under an unspeakable Consternation, fearing that the Council of *France*, who had been probably concerned in that villany, would take the like violent measures against them. It must be confessed that their apprehensions were not altogether unreasonable; for it was as likely then as 'tis now, that the Popish Princes had conspired together for destroying their Subjects of the Protestant Religion. They were molested in *Germany*, their Enemies fomented a division in *Switzerland*, between them and the Catholick Cantons, so that it is believed the *French Kings* Council began with the Valleys, to try how the Protestant Princes would resent it. The Evangelick Cantons had no sooner notice of it, but they writ to the Duke of *Savoy* in the behalf of the *Vandois*, the other Protestant Princes did the like, but 'tis probable that their recommendation would have been in vain, had not *Cromwel* espoused their Party. The Council of *France* being afraid of him, the King disowned what his Troops had done, promised to punish the Commanders, permitted to make a Collection for the rest of the *Vandois* in his Dominions, offered

offered them a refuge, and to be a Mediator of the Peace, which the Duke of *Savoy* was obliged to grant them some time after. These good Offices were owing, as I have intimated, to the powerful intercession of *Cromwel*, who took such measures, as to make them fear a general League of the Protestant Princes, the very thoughts of which had formerly frightened almost Pope *Clement VIII.* out of his Wits. He wrote to the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, to all the Princes of *Germany*, the United *Netherlands*, the *Switzers*, and the Prince of *Transilvania*, with so much vigour and boldness, that one would think, he fancied himself the *Arbiter of Europe*, as well as the *Protector of England*. Those Letters contained some general reflections on the Common danger the Protestants of *Europe* would be exposed to, if they suffered the *Vandois* to be quite exterminated, and the motives which ought to induce them to a speedy relief, concluding with some threatening expressions against the Duke of *Savoy*. He wrote also to the Duke himself, and made him a representation of that Massacre, which implied some threats. His Letters to the *French King* and Cardinal *Mazarine*, were written in the same Stile, which had so good an effect, that the Duke, who had commanded that bloody execution, and the *French King*, who in all likelihood had been acquainted with it, were very glad to come to an agreement, and so the Edicts of Proscription were revoked, and all the privileges of the *Vandois* irrevocably and definitively confirmed by a solemn Patent, which the Duke of *Savoy* gave the 9th of *August* 1655, and which was enrolled in due form in the Senate and Chamber of *Accompts of Turin*. They had however new troubles to undergo in the years 1663 and 1664, tho' the King of *France* was Guarantee of the former Treaty, but the matter being composed again by the Mediation of the *Switzers*, they enjoyed some Tranquillity since that time, till the latter end of the year 1685.

The Inhabitants of the Principality of *Orange* enjoyed a great tranquillity under their Victorious Princes, but his present Majesty's Father being dead, the *French King* seized the same, without any other Right, but that of *Beinscance*, which we cannot express in our Language. While the Marriage of the *French King* with the Infanta of *Spain* was in agitation, Cardinal *Mazarine* finding the Court of *Madrid* somewhat cool, thought fit to give them some jealousy, and put the King upon a journey to *Lyons*, to see the Court of *Savoy*, which he deluded with the hopes of a marriage between his Most Christian Majesty, and the Princess of *Piedmont*, but this was but a feint, as I have

intimated before, and the Cardinal signalized that Voyage by two base and villanous Actions. He deceived a Princess, whom he had flattered with the hopes of a marriage with the King, and usurp'd the Principality of *Orange* by wresting it from a Prince, who was in Peace with *France*, and whose Ancestors had been so serviceable to that Crown. The pretence of that Usurpation was as frivolous, as the thing it self was unjust; the *French* King pretended that there being a dispute concerning that Principality between the two Princesses of *Orange*, he thought fit to secure it, because of the consequences their division might have, and yet he was no sooner Master of it, but he caused all the Fortifications of the capital City to be razed, and made so many innovations in the Government, that it was easily discovered the *French* Court had some further design in view. This Action was doubtless unjust, and yet the Bishop of *Lavaur* in his Speech to the *French* King, on the 7th of *February* 1661, commends it in the name of the whole Clergy of *France*, as a most glorious Deed, and thanks his Majesty for having razed the Fortifications of *Orange*, because, says he, one of the Bastions was erected on the ruins of a Church, where several Councils had met. So true it is, that Papists think, that common Justice is not due to such, who differ from their opinions.

Cromwel being dead, and the *Pyrenean* Treaty, with the Kings Marriage with the Infanta of *Spain*, having restored a general tranquility in *France*, the Clergy resumed their former design against the Protestants, and the death of Cardinal *Mazarine*, happening *March* 15, 1661, they thought that they had no obstacle to overcome. I have intimated, that the Cardinal opposed in some measure their violent enterprizes, but I must not be understood, as if I thought that he had any good inclination for the Protestants; very far from it, he hated Protestants in general, but he knew that the Protestant Princes were the only Allies that *France* could depend upon, and he was afraid to disoblige them, for the Papists had not yet found out the secret to divide the Protestants, as they have done since. The General Assembly of the Clergy, which met in the year 1661, having considered of the best way to carry on their design, drew up a Project to the following effect.

The Bloody means, as Massacres and Murthers which, were made use of in the last Century, had very ill succeeded, and had only served to make the name of *Valois* odious to the World, therefore it was thought fit to lay them aside, and they did not think that a young Prince, who was not yet fettered with Bigottry, could be perswaded to consent to the murder of his Subjects

jects. They thought likewise, that there was no safety to ask abruptly the revocation of the Edict of *Nants*, and of the liberty of Conscience the Kings Subjects enjoyed then, lest this great innovation should occasion new Troubles, which would have crossed and quite disappointed the great designs the King had then in view. They resolved therefore upon a more safe method, that is, to endeavour by new Edicts, Arrests, and Declarations, to deprive by degrees the Protestants of all the Liberties and Privileges, which were granted them by the Edict of *Nants*; and as these things were to be done one after another, they thought they might carry on their design without any noise, and even to avoid the scandal of persecution, they agreed to begin with the less material things, to accustom them to the loss of their Liberties, and prepare them for the total subversion of their privileges. They added another precaution to the former, which was to divide the Protestants, for they were yet a formidable Body: For that end, they resolved to deny them their National Synods, or general Convocations of all the Deputies of the Churches of the Kingdom, whereby they maintained an intimate correspondence together, and to forbid them to hold any assemblies in the Provinces during the Intervals of Provincial Synods, which they likewise designed to suppress. And the better to effect this division of the Protestants, they agreed not to attack in general all the Churches, but some in one Province, and some in another, that they might not suspect what was the true design formed against them.

They resolved to imploy at first the Commission I have already mentioned, and which had been laid aside for several years, but that the Commissioners, who were to be sent into the Provinces, under pretence of putting the Edicts in execution, should have a positive instruction, to interdict but few Churches, and even the most inconsiderable, for fear of giving the alarm to the rest, and to suffer the Ministers to continue in the places, where the Temples should be razed; but that in a short time the said Ministers and others should be prosecuted and banished from their respective Provinces, and that the Laity should be forbidden to meet without their Ministers, which they designed to prevent by suppressing Colloquies and Provincial Synods, and forbidding Ministers to preach, but in the Churches to which they did belong.

It was agreed also not to suppress at once the Liberty of Conscience, but to undermine it by little and little, and to begin with such, who being born Protestants turned Roman Catholics, and afterward would return to the Reformed Communion, being

ing convinced of the errors of *Rome*. These they called *Relaps*, who were forbidden to return to the Protestant Religion. They forbid likewise Monks and Priests to turn Protestants, and such who did so, were branded with the name of *Apostates*.

But because the Protestants made a considerable figure in the Kingdom, and that the Clergy was sensible, that worldly advantages were the best arguments to convert many, it was resolved to move the King, to preclude them such places, Civil or Military, as were able to raise themselves and their Families, and to give 'em Authority in the Kingdom, as a means to convert the greatest Lords amongst the Protestants; which method proved but too successful, as we shall observe anon. They resolved likewise not only to admit no more Protestants into places, but to turn out such as were in possession of 'em; and to hinder Tradesmen from carrying on their profession, in order to reduce them to poverty; while they should on the other hand offer annual Pensions, Money, Places, Dignities, Priviledges and Immunities to such as would embrace their Religion.

They hoped that by these means the Protestant party would be very much weakned; but to play a sure game, as they thought, and to secure the Children who were to come, they resolved to suppress in a little time the Protestant Academies or Universities, Colledges and Schools, to deprive them of all means of Education; a sure way to dispose them to submit to the extravagant doctrines of the *Romish* Church.

And that the Complaints of the Reformed might not stop the course of those violent and unjust proceedings, the Council of Conscience undertook, that the King would not hear the Petitions of his oppressed Subjects, and that the Council should take no notice of 'em, unless it were to pass a Decree against the Petitioners. The Courts of Justice, called *Chambres de l'Edit*, because they were established by the Edicts of Pacification, to take cognizance of the affairs between Protestants and Papists, and therefore were composed of an Equal number of both parties, proved a great obstacle to the designs of the Clergy, but they soon got the suppression of 'em, and the Protestants were thereby left exposed to the mercy of the Intendants, Parliaments, and inferior Magistrates, who being all Roman Catholics, were their adversaries, their Enemies and their Judges. They hoped by all those vexations to oblige most of the Protestants to forsake their Religion and embrace the Popish, notwithstanding the opposition of their own Consciences, and that after having thus lessened the number of the Reformed in *France*; after having destroyed all their Churches, driven away their Ministers, and subverted all their

Pri-

Priviledges, they might obtain an intire revocation of the Edict of *Nants*. They thought, that such of the Reformed, whose constancy should resist all the temptations aforesaid, would be at last overcome by the last stroke, and that seeing themselves without any Minister, Churches, or publick exercises of Piety, without any support or Maintenance, Honours or Dignities, they would be quickly weary of that miserable Life, and embrace a Religion, which offered them all the advantages of this Life. But because they supposed that some would still persevere in their Religion, the Kings Confessor and Director of Conscience, were to take care to prepossess his Majesty against them as *Opinians*, and refractory, in order to dispose him to deliver em up together with their Families and Estates, to the mercy of his Soldiers, who would take care to convert them to the Catholick Church.

Such was the plan or project contrived for the ruin of the French Churches, which was exactly followed by their persecutors, in order to undermine the Edict of *Nants*, till they found a favourable opportunity to revoke that Edict, which was done in the year 1685, in so violent a manner, that all the Records of time cannot produce an instance of so much *Injustice*, *Perfidiousness*, *Cruelty*, and *Impiety*, and which will be an eternal blot to the Reign of the French Kings, notwithstanding what the *Bois-seaux*, *Racines*, the Bishops of *Meaux*, and other Mercenary Pens can write to the contrary, for what is the denyal of some few Persons, of a pack of *Lyers* sold to iniquity, against the Evidence of one Million of Eye witnesses, Men of Honour and Probity, who are dispersed all over the World, only for adhering to their Religion. I am sensible these names sound very harsh, but when I consider that these very people, have so little regard to their Reputation and Character, as to publish, that there has been no persecution in *France*, I think I ought not to be more tender of it my self, and this is a piece of *Villany* not to be varnished over.

But lest the Protestants should leave the Kingdom, and settle in Foreign Countreys, to the great prejudice of *France*, it was agreed, that care should be taken to prevent their going out, and severe prohibitions were soon after published, whereby such who should be taken leaving the Kingdom were condemned to the Gallies, where great numbers were sent only upon that account, as we shall observe in its place. They knew the dismal consequences the retreat of the *Moors* out of *Spain* had brought upon that Kingdom, and by these severe orders, they hoped to prevent the like. We may add another reason to this, which goes a great way with men of such wicked principles, that is, the satisfaction they

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they flattered themselves with, to have always at their mercy a poor people to torment as they should think fit.

This Plan being agreed upon, the only difficulty which obstructed their design, was the King himself. They knew what his Majesty had publicly owned in his Declaration in the year 1652, their fidelity and great services; that the same were proclaimed both at Court and in the Field, and that the Queen Mother had acknowledged upon several occasions, that the Reformed had preserved the State, and settled the Crown upon the Head of her Son. These considerations made them fear, that the King would hardly be persuaded to ruin a poor People, who had maintained him in his Throne; but considering on the other hand, the great disposition his Majesty had shewed in the year 1656. to forget these important services, and to revoke his Declaration of the year 1652, they did not despair to give such a turn even to their Fidelity, as to render it Criminal, or at least suspicious, and to induce the King to ruin the Protestants, by a motive, which ought to have inspired him with an eternal gratitude.

They represented the Reformed as the most pernicious of all Hereticks; as a Cabal of impious and prophane people, who trampled under foot the most sacred mysteries of the Christian Religion, and who had separated themselves from the Church only out of a Principle of Libertinism. They traduced them as publick *Incendiaries*, who had occasioned the Civil Wars and troubles the Kingdom had been constantly afflicted with since their first appearing in the World; who delighted in disorders, in hopes to settle their Herefy on the Ruins of the Church and the publick Peace, and who were always disposed to rebel against the Royal Authority.

They represented on the other hand to the King, 1. That he could do nothing so becoming a *Most Christian King*, and *Eldest Son* of the Church, as to extirpate Calvinism out of his Dominions. 2. That this Sacred and Religious Actions would render his name immortal, and raise him to a degree of Glory, which his Predecessors could never attain to, tho they spared neither Fire, Sword, or Massacres in hopes of it. 3. That the extirpating of Hereticks, would settle his Crown for ever, for his Authority could never be firm as long as there was so great a party of Rebels in his Dominions.

They came then to the nicest point, *viz.* the services the King received from the Protestants in his Minority, which they misrepresented with so much malice and dexterity, that this very thing was the principal and most essential cause of their Ruin,

Ruin, and of all the mischief they have since suffered. Posterity will hardly believe this, but there is nothing more certain in the World, and their Enemies have upon several occasions owned the truth of it. They represented to his Majesty, that if the Protestants had preserved the State, as the Queen Mother had several times expressed it, it was plain that they might have overturned it, if they had sided with the Prince of *Conde*, and that they might change the Constitution thereof upon the least disgust; that therefore it was necessary to suppress their party, and that the good they had done was no longer to be regarded, but as an Indication of the mischief which they might be capable of doing, whenever they pleased. This argument was relished as a refined piece of Policy, and the King was so far convinced thereby, that he delivered up his Reformed Subjects to the cruelty and violence of the Clergy, and became himself their most implacable Enemy, forgetting all their services, and the Protection and Justice he owed them as their King. His Ears were continually shut against their crys and complaints and his hand always ready to sign Edicts and Declarations against them, so that the Clergy being assured of the Kings readiness to do whatever they pleased, took effectual measures to put their projected design in execution.

The Popish Clergy, it seems, would not have the Protestants to be ignorant of the true occasion of their ruin, for to convince them, that the Zeal they had expressed for the King in the late Civil Wars, was the motive which induced his Majesty to suppress their Religion, they began their persecutions with those Cities, which could plead the greatest services. *Rochel* underwent an infinite number of Prescriptions, and *Montauban* was sacked by Soldiers, under the Command of the Marquis de *St Luc*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Guienne*, to whom they had lately afforded a Sanctuary, after his overthrow at *Miradoux* by the Prince of *Conde*. There was indeed a slight pretence for that Military execution, for the Protestant Scholars had opposed by force the Invasion of the Jesuits; but to let the World know that the Conversion of the *Huguenots* was aimed at, such of them who would turn Papists were immediately eased of the Soldiers quartered upon them, with this modification, that if the Husband alone embraced the Catholick Faith, one half of the Soldiers were dismissed, and the rest continued to convert his Wife and Children. This severity had not the effect they expected; they made but few Converts, and the Troops were no sooner removed from that Town, but they returned to the Protestant Religion, and begged publick pardon for their Weakness. This was the first Essay of the Dragoonal Mission, which was afterwards

used through the whole Kingdom in the year 1685.

The Protestant Party being still very considerable, it was thought adviseable to suspend those violent proceedings till they had weakened and undermined them by degrees. It would be a difficult matter to give an exact account of the several methods they employed to carry on their design, for never humane malice produced such multiplicity of 'em, and every day brought forth new ones for five and twenty years together. Such a task requires more leisure than I have. I must therefore content my self to take notice of the chief of 'em, which I'll bring under the 12 following Heads.

The first relates to the administration of Justice. The 2d to another sort of Persecution, whereby the Protestants were not only deprived of Offices of Judicature, but likewise of all other Employments, and even from the liberty of following their Professions, Arts, Trades, and in general of all ways of subsistence. 3. The quartering Soldiers upon Protestants. 4. Several methods used to oblige Protestants to turn Roman Catholicks. 5. The Persecutions against Children. 6. The prohibition made to several persons to turn Protestants. 7. The persecution in particular against Ministers. 8. An Interdiction of several Churches. 9. Another persecution which was made use of to ruin such Churches, the Titles of which they could not dispute. 10. The persecutions the Protestants suffered from the Clergy in particular, and the proceedings of that Assembly for advancing their ruin. 11. The Declarations whereby the Protestants were forbidden to leave the Kingdom, and the Penalties they were condemned to. 12. The Artifices used to make the World believe, that the King did not design to extirpate the Protestant Religion in his Dominions, &c.

1. Head.

The first persecution I have taken notice of, relates to the Administration of Justice, which may be looked upon as the source of all others, for the Protestants were thereby left exposed to the mercy of their Enemies. King *Henry IV.* being sensible of the injustices the Protestants had received from Popish Judges, and that there was no other way to remove these disorders, than by establishing the supreme Courts of Judicature called the *Chambers de l'Edict*, composed of an equal number of Popish and Protestant Judges, that Justice, says he, in the 30th article of the *Edict of Nantes* be administered to our Subjects without any suspicion, hatred, or favour, as the chief means to maintain them in Peace and Concord. These Chambers were a great obstacle to the violent designs of the Clergy, and therefore their first endeavours were to suppress them. They attempted at first to lessen and undermine their authority, but finding the Court favourable to their designs,

designs, that they obtained in the year 1669 the suppression of the Chambers of *Paris* and *Rouen*, and in the year 1679. that of the rest, *viz.* those of *Languedoc*, *Guienne*, and *Dauphine*. The Magistrates were reunited to their respective Parliaments, but the Protestants could never sit in the great *Chamber*, to which, by a most notorious piece of Injustice, all the affairs of Protestants were referred. It must be also observed, that Archbishops and Bishops had right to sit and Vote in that Chamber, so that the Protestants had their greatest Enemies for their Judges. All the Protestants in the Courts of Aids, Chamber of Accompts, and in general all Magistrates and Judges, who professed the same Religion were soon after turned out, notwithstanding their representations offered to the King and Council. This Infraction of the Edict of *Nantz*, was not only fatal to the Churches in general, but also to particular persons, who had a great share in the oppression. If any one of them had a Law Suit with a Roman Catholick for a piece of Land, a House, or other thing of this Nature, Religion was always one of the Chief Heads of the Controversy. The Priests and Monks always concerned therein, and the best argument the Roman Catholick could urge before the Judges was, that the other was an Heretick, and professed a Religion odious to the King, which he would have extirpated; and made such a clamour, that such of the Judges who had yet preserved any sense of Justice, durst not however oppose that Blind Zeal, for fear of drawing the fury of the whole Cabal against them, and being traduced as favourers of Hereticks. By these unjust partialities a world of Families were ruined, and reduced to to the utmost necessities, and when any one complained, they obtained no other answer but this, *You have the Remedy in your hands, why do you not turn Catholick*. The Parliaments being invested with new Authorities by the suppression of the Chambers of the Edict, had no other thought but to employ it for the extirpation of the Protestants, and being possessed with an unaccountable hatred against the Reformed and the Reformation, the malice of Monks and Priests could invent nothing, but what they readily approved. The Court favouring the said injustices, Orders printed at *Paris* were sent to all the Cities and Parishes of the Kingdom, which empowered the Curates to make an exact inquiry into whatsoever the Reformed might have *done* or *said* for twenty years past, as well as in relation to Religion or otherwise, and to prosecute them before the Magistrates according to the severity of the Law. By these means the Prisons were filled with pretended Criminals, and tho the Witnesses produced against them were known perjured Villains, yet the *Catholick Zeal* of the Judges made them

over-rule the exceptions taken thereat, and many innocent and virtuous persons were condemned to be whipt, to the Gallies, to Banishments, and if ever a spark of Honour or Conscience put a stop to the violent persecution, yet none of the evidence were punished tho convicted of Perjury.

King *Henry* the 4th had declared in the 27th Article of the Edict of *Nants*, that his Subjects of the Reformed Religion should be capable of holding all Dignities, Offices, Employments, and publick places of Honours, Profit, &c. but we have already seen how the Offices of Judicature were taken from them, and we must now in examining the second general Head, shew how they were deprived of other Offices, and in general of all means of getting their livelihood.

2. Head. By a Declaration in the year 1666, the Reformed were declared incapable of holding the place of Consul, or any other Municipal Offices. In the year 1680 the King issued an order whereby the Protestants were deprived in general of all kind of Offices and Employments, from the greatest to the smallest, to use the expression of the order, and they were declared incapable of holding or exercising any employment in the Custom-houses, *Finances*, Post Office, of being Carriers, Coachmen, of driving Stage Coaches, or Waggon. In the year 1681, by a Decree of Council, all Notaries, Attorneys, Solicitors, and Sergeants of the Reformed Religion, were forbid to practice their profession, and about the year 1682 all Lords and Gentlemen were ordered to discharge their Servants and Officers of the said Religion, without any other reason, but that of their profession. In the year 1683 all Officers belonging to the Kings Household, and those of the Princes of the Blood, were deprived of their Offices. In the year 1684 all Secretaries belonging to the King and other great Officers of the Crown, were deprived of their places, and of the Privileges belonging thereunto.

The Protestants being dispersed all over the Kingdoms of *France*, it was impossible that all of em could subsist upon their own Estates, and therefore it was but just, that they should have the Liberty of serving the publick either in Offices, Trade, Arts, or Faculties, each of em according to their calling. This had been sufficiently provided for in the Edict of *Nants*, but as the design of the Court was to reduce the Protestants to the last misery, in order to their conversion, they found a thousand vexations to prevent the Protestants from receiving the degrees of Dr of Laws or Physick, and their Chyrurgeons and Apothecaries had much ado to be received Masters. The inferior Tradesmen met with the same difficulties, and an Arrest of Council was published in the

the year 1664, whereby the King revoked and made void all the Freedoms he had granted to Protestants, upon occasion of the Peace, his Marriage, and the Birth of the Dauphin. Another Arrest of Council in the year 1667 reduced the Artificers of the Province of *Languedoc* to one third part. The Goldsmiths of *Rouen* by an order of the Court of the Mint of the year 1666 were reduced to one 15th part, and by several Arrests, the Protestants were prohibited to follow the profession of Cap-makers, Embroiderers, and Semstresses.

There remained only a profession, which was free to Protestants, which was *Midwifry*, but in the year 1680 the French King published a Declaration, whereby all persons of the Reformed Religion were forbid to presume to follow that profession any more, and it was expressed in the preamble of the same, that the Popish Midwives should be impowered to Christen the Children. This Declaration frightened more than all the rest the poor Protestants, for it was whispered about that time, and not without some grounds, that the Papists had formed the same design against the Children of the Protestants, that *Pharaoh put in practice against the Posterity of Jacob in Egypt*.

While they were endeavouring by these injustices and violences to ruin the Protestants, and reduce them to Beggerie, the Clergy raised a Fund, and appointed Commissioners to treat with such who would sell their Souls; with this difference, that the price they gave for 'em was different according to the Quality of the person, and they paid a greater sum for the Soul of a *Gentleman* than for that of a *Boor*, as if both were not equally precious before their Maker. This pious Trade was countenanced at Court, and to enlarge and make it more successful, the Council issued an order, by which the *New Converts* were discharged from the payment of their debts for three years, which proved a great prejudice to Protestants, who were generally their chief Creditors. By this order they found the secret to recompence those who changed their Religion, at the charge of those who continued firm therein; and to crown all the injustice aforesaid, if two Protestants in partnership contracted any Debts, and that one turned Roman Catholic, the King was pleased to discharge his *Convert* of that Debt, so that the other was obliged to pay all.

To all the grievances aforesaid, we must add two or three more very material, first the prohibition to sell their Estates on any pretence whatsoever, the King annulling and breaking all Contracts relating to that matter, if it did not appear they staid in the Kingdom a whole year after. 2. The Intendants in their respective Districts, had orders to load the *Reformed* with oppressive

pressive Taxes, which were called the Taxes of the *New Catholics*, because these New Converts were freed for some years of Taxes in our of their Conversion.

The Military Officers were not quite so much abused as the Civil, but however we must observe, that nothing but long services and an extraordinary merit, could advance them to the place of Captains, Majors, Lieutenant Collonels, and Collonels, which were but few, and that they were forced to stop there, their Religion precluding them all Governments or Dignities, which their services deserved; and they were plainly told, that their Religion was the occasion of it, so that they had the mortification to see Scoundrels, Footmen, and other despicable Fellows set over their Heads, because of their *Catholicity*. The Count *de Roze* and some few others of great Quality were indeed advanced somewhat higher; but the former, tho of one of the best Families in *France*, and of an extraordinary merit and long services, could never obtain the *Batoon* of Marechal of *France*, nor any Government, while his Brothers in Law *Messieurs de Duras* and *Lorges*, tho inferior to him in every respect, were advanced to that Dignity. I do not however pretend to say, that these two Lords had no personal Merit, I know better things, but sure I am, that their Conversion contributed very much to their preferment. The services of the Count *de Roze* were so eminent, that his very presence was an undeniable proof of the Kings ingratitude, so that they thought fit to remove him upon some honourable pretence, and he was sent to *Denmark*, to command the *Danish* Forces as General. He quitted that Country some time after and came into *England*, where he dyed some years ago.

The great Duke of *Schomberg*, being a *German* by Birth, did not meet with so many obstacles in his way, as the Count *de Roze*, and was created Marechal of *France*; but notwithstanding his great merit, he had much ado to obtain for a reward of his services the Liberty to quit that Kingdom, without being molested. It may be, that they were afraid that the Dragoons themselves had too much humanity left, to prosecute and torment a Man, who had so often headed them against the Enemies of the Nation.

3. Head.

All the Vexations I have taken notice of, were very proper to give a disgust of the Protestant Religion, to such who preferred Worldly advantages to the *Cross* of *Christ* and their eternal Salvation; and it must be confessed that a considerable number of Reformed were thereby perverted to the Romish Idolatry. One was baited with a Civil Office, another with a Military Command, and

and others tempted by a cruel necessity, being deprived of all means of maintaining themselves and their Families. However the Conversions being too slow, and the Methods aforesaid proving not effectual enough, the Persecutors took other measures, which promised them a more and speedy success, and the best way they pitched upon, was the quartering of Soldiers at discretion upon Protestants.

They knew the Character of the French Troops, and indeed what fitter Missionaries could the Bloody *Babylon* have chosen, than Troops, who had committed so many Murthers and Massacres at *Bodengrave*, and the *Palatinate*, and who had divested themselves of all sense of Humanity and Compassion. These New Missionaries had a very large power, for Murther and Rapes excepted, they had a full Liberty to do whatever they thought fit to convert the Reformed, and oblige them to go to Mass. This *most Christian* method was not at first used throughout the Kingdom, but *Poitou*, *Sainton*, and the Town of *Bergerac* were pitched upon, to be the first Theaters of their violent Persecutions, which hapned in the year 1681.

The Protestants being very numerous in *Poitou*, they had opposed with more vigour than others, the execution of the Commission I have mentioned in the beginning of this Work, and the Court looked upon them since that time as Rebels. These were the first Victims that were delivered to the Fury of the Soldiers.

One *Marillac* was then Intendant of that Province, and as he knew that the best way to great preferments was to set up for a *Converter*, he undertook that task in his District, and appointed publick Offices, where people might sell their Souls for money. He met with very few of such base Creatures, and therefore he employed more effectual means of succeeding in his meritorious work. He quartered at first the *Archers* of the Provosts upon them, but seeing that they were somewhat kind to their Neighbours, he sent for some standing Troops, whom he quartered at discretion upon the Reformed; and lest humane nature should be frightened into Compassion, he quartered some Capuchin Fryars with them to strengthen them in that pious Work, against any such Weakness. They Threatned, Blasphemed, Plundered, Burnt, destroyed every thing, and exercised unheard of Cruelties, upon persons of all Sexes and Ages. They put some to the Rack, almost killed others with blows, dragged some into the Churches, carried others thither wrapped up in their Sheets, and in short converted the Men by clapping their Pistols to the Breasts, and the Women by threatening to ravish them. The Reformed of that

that Province sent some Gentlemen of the best Quality to Court, to complain of the barbarities of the cruel *Marillac*, and presented a Petition, containing a bare account of the matters of Fact, but the same being handed to the King by the Marquis de *Louvois*, his most Christian Majesty was pleased to say, that that account was false, and ordered the said Deputies to depart the City of *Paris* in 24 hours.

The poor people, who were overcome by that cruel persecution, had no sooner time to breathe, but they protested, that what they had done was by force and violence, and ought not to be taken for an abjuration, which drew upon them a second Persecution, whereby they endeavoured to oblige them to subscribe a Declaration, containing that they had imbraced the Catholick Religion, without any compulsion or violence; and tho they persevered in their refusal to comply with the Romish Worship, yet they set Guards to the Gates of the Protestant Churches to prevent their going in, and prosecuted them before the Magistrates, who fined some, condemned others to the Prisons, &c. I could bring a world of Instances to shew the barbarity of this Persecution, but the Brevity I have prescribed to my self does not permit it. However I cannot forbear to mention what follows. One *Rimba* of the Parish of *Vanzai* in *Poitou*, a Farmer of the Lady of *la Baroniére*, having been cruelly beaten and cut in several places by the Soldiers, was dragged to the Popish Church, where he stoutly refused to subscribe the Act of his abjuration, and so they were forced to release him. But as they had dragged him along, and that the Dirt and Blood mixed together made him look most dismally, the Dogs of the place took him for some strange Beast, and being animated by the hallowings of the Soldiers, fell upon him, and before they perceived their mistake, tore him almost in pieces, insomuch that the poor Man expired soon after. This bloody action was laid open before the Ministers of State, and yet remains at this day unpunished. The French Clergy took great care to magnify the Conversions of the *Huguenots* of *Poitou*, and the List of the New Converts were weekly shown to the King, who no doubt was exceedingly pleased with the success of his pious intentions. A great number of Protestants then left the Kingdom of *France*, and retired into *England*, where they met with a very charitable and kind reception.

The Province of *Saintonge* felt the effects of the Neighbourhood of *Poitou*. One *Carnavalet* Governor of *Brouage* having advice, that the French King had highly applauded the Zeal of the Intendant *Marillac*, thought that the like cruelties would recommend him to higher preferments, therefore he exercised the very same

same precautions, with this difference, that he went himself in Person from place to place at the Head of his Garrison, to *convert* the Poor Protestants, whom he plundered and abused in such a manner, that had not the furious Zeal of converting prevailed in the Court of *France*, he had certainly been made an example, to teach other Governors to undertake nothing, without the Kings express orders. The Protestants complained against him, both to the King and to the Parliament of *Guienne*, but to no purpose; they were *Huguenots*, and the most infamous actions that could be devised against them, were not only tolerable, but highly meritorious.

While these barbarities were acting in *Poitou* and *Saintonge*, two or three Regiments of Horse were sent to *preach the Gospel* at *Bergerac* in *Guienne*, for these are the very expressions of one of the Colonels. The pretence of it was, that the Temple of the said Town being condemned to be razed, and almost all the Inhabitants being Protestants, it was not safe to undertake it, without a good Body of Troops. The Temple was quietly demolished without any Commotion, but yet for all that the three Regiments aforesaid remained for several months quartered upon the said Inhabitants, whom they plundered and ruined. I cannot forbear to mention, to the immortal Honour of that Town, that the Inhabitants relieved and comforted each other with so much affection, that they revived the Charity of the Primitive Christians, having every thing in common amongst them, so that their Enemies, notwithstanding their malice and fury, gained but two Profelytes to their Church in that cruel expedition.

The Reformed of the Provinces of *Languedoc* and *Dauphine* observing that by the daily interdiction and suppression of their Churches upon some pretence or other, they should be reduced in a very short time to so great an extremity, as to have no publick exercise of their Religion, thought that there was no remedy against that impending danger, but to appear more firm and constant than ever. Therefore it was resolved, that the Ministers should Preach in the very places, where the exercise of the Reformed Religion had been interdicted, and there was a secret meeting at *Toulonse* of the Deputies of several Provinces, to agree about an uniform method to proceed in this nice point.

The news of the Reformed preaching upon the ruins of their Temples in *Dauphine*, the *Cevennes* and *Vivarais*, was hardly brought to Court, but Troops were ordered to march thither to oppose the same, and the first who arrived in those Provinces committed such Cruelties upon the Protestants in general,

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without making any distinction, between such who were concerned in that pretended Rebellion, and others who had no share therein, that they were forced to take up Arms in their own defence. This gave occasion to several rencounters, and particularly to a sharp engagement between 200 Protestants of *Bordeaux* in *Dauphine*, and about 800 Dragoons, with whom they maintained a desperate fight for several hours, and killed a considerable number of 'em. They were at last overpowered by their Enemies, and cut almost to pieces or taken prisoners. They were commanded by a young Gentleman of *Montelimar* called *Chamier* of about 25 years of Age, who did wonders in that action, and would not quit his post till he saw almost all his Companions killed. He had the misfortune of being taken Prisoner few days after, and was brought Prisoner to *Montelimar*, where he was broke upon the Wheel near his Fathers House. The Clergy endeavoured to pervert him to their Religion, and promised him the Kings pardon, but their temptations were in vain, that worthy young Gentleman scorning to buy a temporal Life with an eternal Death.

The Kings general Pardon was published soon after, whereupon the Reformed laid down their Arms, but this, it seems, was but an artifice, for the Troops continued in that Province, and committed horrid disorders. They spread themselves afterwards into the *Vivaraïs* and the *Cevennes*, wherein they did the like, that is, they murdered in cold Blood many people with impunity, plundered all they had and razed several of their Temples, without any form of Law. I could bring a world of instances of these Inhumanities, but for fear of being too long I'll content my self with these few, which were acted in the last Province.

The Soldiers took a Peasant Prisoner of the Parish of *Labatie*, and they burnt his Feet and Hands, but because that was not able to convert him, they put a burning Coal in his Hand, which they shut so that he was put to a most exquisite torment. They burnt the Lips of another with a red Iron. They pluckt off their Beards, or burnt them with a Candle. Some were left hanging half dead for several hours; other were smoaked with wisps of wet Hay till they had lost their senses, and others were thrown into great Fires. They tyed some upon a Table and poured Wine with a Funnel down their Throats till the fumes of it depriving them of their reason, they made them say, that they would consent to be Catholicks.

As the Bishop of *Lodeve* signalized his Zeal in a most extraordinary manner, he deserves to be mentioned here in particular. That Bishop was a very lewd Fellow, and one of the most cruel
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Men that ever was, infomuch, that he had a very ill reputation, and being afraid that his Superiors would at last take notice of his conduct, he set up for a great Converter, knowing that this Quality alone excused all manner of Vices. He threatned, beat and confined Prisoners almost all the Reformed of his Diocels, and used them as ill as his malice could invent. He committed amongst others a Maid, Daughter to one *Francis Balesfrier*, and because she proved more refractory than others, he would himself visit her very often, to endeavour to convert her. His arguments proving insignificant, he advised her to pray with him, that God would be pleased to enlighten her, and so fell to his prayers, asking of her from time to time, whether she felt the inspiration of the Holy Ghost? That poor Maid being tired with that prophane Farce, told him, that she was resolved to dye in her Religion, and therefore desired him to let her alone, whereupon he beat her most severely, and notwithstanding all that came again very often to pray with her, concluding always his prayers with Cuffs, as he had done at first. When he saw the French Troops in his Neighbourhood, he called the Reformed together, and made them a very eloquent Speech, to shew them the advantages they would reap from their Conversion, concluding his pastoral discourse, with the following expressions: *The Dragoons are near at hand, and if you persevere in your obstinacy, they must come to plunder your Houses and ravish your Wives.*

The inhumanities I have already mentioned, were never punished, tho complaints were brought to the Intendants and Generals, except one particular instance, which was too remarkable to be put by. Two Granadeers went to plunder a Farm-house near *St Hypolite*, wherein they found a young Boy, and a little Girl of about seven or eight years of age, one of these Rogues tyed the Boy, and endeavoured to ravish the Girl, but her age not permitting him to do it, the Villain tore her Belly with his Hands, of which the innocent creature dyed. This barbarity made such a noise, that they were ashamed of it, and condemned the Soldier to be broke alive upon the Wheel, which was but partly executed, for they strangled him before he received any blows.

The Kings Pardon was so full of exceptions, that a world of People were prosecuted upon account of the Project I have mentioned: several Churches were interdicted, 12 Ministers were condemned to be hanged, several banished, and 5 condemned to be broke alive upon the Wheel, but they had the good fortune to make their escape into *England* and other Protestant Countries, so that there were but two taken, one of whom renounced his Religion to save his Life, and the other, called *Isaac Homel*, Minister

nister of *Soyon* in *Vivaraïs*, was actually broke upon the Wheel at *Tournon*. This Minister was both Venerable by his great Age and Personal Merit, and suffered that cruel Death with an unparalleled resignation, which was admired, but not pitied by the Spectators. The Executioner had made himself drunk to perform that Execution, which proved a new punishment to that poor Martyr, for he gave him above 30 blows, without giving him the mortal one. The Common People, who generally fall upon the Executioner, when they make the Criminals suffer too long, did not express the least Commiseration on this occasion, and saw with a kind of pleasure the Execution, which lasted four times longer than usual. This hapned on the 20th of *October* 1683.

This Persecution lasted in *Languedoc*, *Dauphine*, *Cevennes*, and *Vivaraïs* till the year 1685, that it became general through the whole Kingdom of *France*, as we shall observe in its place.

4. Head.

Besides the Persecutions I have heretofore mentioned, which were designed against all Protestants in general, I am to speak here of another oppression, which was levelled against every private man, and in particular against such, who were not concerned in the management of the affairs of the Reformed, as Ministers, Elders, &c. and who had friends enough to be protected from the quartering of Soldiers and other vexations. These the Jesuits accused sometimes of having relieved a Poor Protestant, and thereby prevented his Conversion, another time of having perverted a Roman Catholick to the Protestant Religion; others were accused of having spoken disrespectfully of the King, or of the Virgin *Mary* or some other Saint, or of the Host, the God of the Papists; and as they never wanted evidences to prove their accusations, no body was secure against their Malice, and a world of people were ruined by Fines and Imprisonments. As there was a general Conspiracy to ruine the Reformed, the most absurd, improbable, and ridiculous stories were believed by the Judges, and severely punished, tho raised against men of a known Integrity and Wisdom. The Judge or chief Magistrate of *Florençac* in *Languedoc*, with the chief Inhabitants of that place, were accused of having met in the night time in the Market place, and there celebrated the Mass in derision of the Catholicks; the Inhabitants of *Aymet* in *Guienne* were accused of the same thing, and notwithstanding the accusation against the former appeared malicious and groundless, they kept the said Judge and others close Prisoners for several months. The latter, tho no less innocent, were more severely dealt withal, for the Parliament of *Bordeaux* condemned five of them to be hanged, and to a fine of 10000 Livres,

Livres. A great number of others were fined for refusing to kneel down before their Host, tho they proved that Priests had pursued them, and gone out of their way on purpose to raise commotions. This kneeling before their Sacrament in the streets was one of the greatest inconveniencies the Protestants were exposed to, and I have seen above five hundred times, while I was in *France*, men and women, both natives and foreigners, knock'd down in the streets, and most miserably handled by the Mob upon that very account, and Priests running after 'em, crying aloud, *You damn'd Heretick, worship thy God and Saviour.*

There were in all the chief Towns some Societies of men and women, which stiled themselves *the Society of the propagation of Faith*, and their chief business was to find out new tricks and inventions to persecute the Reformed, or to seduce them to their Idolatry. They obtained in the year 1665 a declaration of the King, wherein his most Christian Majesty, to encourage the conversion of his Subjects, ordered that such Children of the Reformed who should embrace the Catholick Religion, should not be obliged to live with their Fathers; but on the contrary, that their Fathers should be forced to allow them yearly Pensions out of their Estates. This gained to the Romish Church several Proselytes, for as soon as Children grew lewd and insolent, and that their Fathers would chastise them, they immediately embraced Popery, as a Sanctuary wherein they might continue their vicious and disorderly courses.

The Zeal of those *Converters* was so great, that every day produced new vexations, and if they could not pervert people during the course of their life, they attempted it when they were near the point of death. By the Edict of *Nants*, the Ministers of the Reformed were allowed to visit the Prisoners of their Religion, and to exhort them to Repentance, and pray with them even at the place of execution; and by two Declarations of the present French King, in the year 1665, the same is confirmed, with this restriction, that the Ministers shall exhort the Criminals with a low voice, in their Prisons, and not aloud; but some time after the entrance into the said Prisons was denyed them, and the Reformed were left in that sad juncture to the persecution of Monks and Priests, who sometimes flattered them with the hopes of pardon, if they would but turn Catholicks; and in case of refusal, insulted over them in a most barbarous manner.

Such of the Reformed who were in the publick Hospitals, were not more humanely used than Criminals; and their Ministers were not allowed to come to visit them, tho this was expressly permitted by the 49 and 42 Articles of the Edict of *Nants*, and the

The Declarations of the years 1665 and 1669. And because the Reformed, to avoid this Persecution, had some Hospitals for their own poor, the Council published an Arrest, whereby they were not only forbidden to have such Hospitals, but also to receive any poor into their own Houses, upon pain of 1000 Crowns fine, and of the Interdiction of the publick exercise; and all the summs of money left by Protestants to the management of the Church for the use of the Poor, were taken from them, and given to the Hospitals. The Elders of the Consistories were likewise forbidden to relieve any Poor in sickness under pretence of Charity. As this Persecution was levelled against all the Protestants, none were free from it, and they were no less exposed to the Popish Clergy in their own Houses, than if they had been in Hospitals; for by several Declarations the Curate of the Parish, or any other Priest, or Monk, the Judges or Consuls, &c. were impowered to go into any House, where they knew a Protestant was sick, to know from him whether he would convert himself. To execute the said Declarations with as much barbarity as they could, they commonly tarried till they knew the person was at the point of death, and then they came in in a turbulent manner, driving out of his room his nearest Relations, the Ministers and other Protestants. They exhorted the patient to change his Religion, and if he refused to comply, they teased him in a thousand manners, and threatned him with the eternal flames of Hell. It happened pretty often that people were speechless when they came in, and if they made but any sign for 'em to retire, they gave it a quite different interpretation, and that was taken for a formal abjuration, whether they recovered or not. This has been the case of several persons that I have known, and I remember two or three who were violently persecuted after their recovery of violent Fevers, which deprived them of the use of their Reason, the Priest deposing that they had abjured their Religion.

5. Head.

Tho the methods I have already mentioned were very violent, the Clergy foresaw that the great work of the Conversion of the Reformed would prove but slow, if they did not apply their care to secure the young Children to their Religion; therefore in order thereunto they contrived several other ways to corrupt them, or force them to quit the Religion of their Fathers.

The first Machine made use of, was levelled against the Protestant Universities or Academies, Colledges and Schools, to deprive them of all means to educate their Children, and keep them in a gross ignorance of the Mysteries of Religion, and likewise of Humane Learning, as the best way to dispose them to submit to the nonsensical tenets of the Church of Rome. These Schools
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and Academies were allowed in exprefs terms by the Edict of *Nants*, but an Arrest of Council in the year 1670, forbid the Protestant School-masters to teach any thing else besides Writing and Arithmetick, and suppressed the said Schools in all the places where there was not a publick exercise of the Protestant Religion; in-somuch, that by this artifice they reduced the number of Schools, as they lessened the number of Temples, and the Reformed were obliged to teach their Children themselves, or send them to Popish Schools. The Academies where they taught Divinity, as *Saumur*, *Puilaurens* and *Sedan*, were soon after suppressed; but the Sentence for the suppression of the latter is so ridiculous that I cannot forbear taking notice of it. In short, the Clergy could lay nothing to the charge of that Academy but this extravagant accusation, which we know from the Arrest of Council given on that subject in the year 1687, viz. *That that Colledge had served against the intention of the King, to teach the Reformed of the other Provinces of the Kingdom.*

While they were depriving the Protestants of all means of educating their Children in *France*, the King by a Declaration in the year 1681, forbid them to send them out of his dominions without his exprefs leave, before they were full 16 years of age, that is, too old to begin to learn any thing. And besides these vexations, they seized with open force and violence the Children in several places; and tho the Edicts and Declarations were against that violence, they found means to keep them long enough in their Seminaries to infect them with their abominable Doctrines; and tho the Reformed complained against these Kidnappers, they could never obtain any Justice; Their Prince had no ears to hear their just complaints, nor any disposition to do 'em Justice.

His Most Christian Majesty, in the year 1683, gave another Declaration, whereby it was ordered that the children of 14, or under 14 years of age, of all such persons, who had by any means whatsoever embraced the Roman Catholick Religion, should be educated in the same, and the Ministers were forbidden to receive them into their Churches upon pain of banishment, and confiscation of their Estates. And as they had already perverted a considerable number of persons, either by quartering of Souldiers, or other vexations I have mentioned, this Declaration proved a fatal stroke to the Protestants. The children of those persons, who being upon their death bed were reported by the Priest to have changed their Religion, were likewise included in this Declaration; and no doubt but one of the chief reasons why the King had forbidden the Protestants to exercise the art of Midwifery, was that they might Christen the children of Protestants,

testants, and thereby bring them to the Romish Church.

But the most fatal stroke that the Protestants received upon that account was in the year 1681, when the King declared, that *the children of Protestants were at seven years of age capable of Reason and choice in matters so important as their Salvation, and that therefore he thought fit to revoke a Clause in his Declaration in the year 1669, wherein he had declared that they could not make that choice till they were 12 or 14 years of age.* The Preface is as ridiculous as the subject of the Declaration; and here one cannot but blush, that a Prince should applaud himself on the success, wherewith, says he, God has blessed the *CARES* he has taken for converting his Subjects, which he calls *Spiritual* excitations, and reasonable means to second the movements which God gives them to discover their errors. After these fustian expressions, and many others, his Most Christian Majesty declares, 1. That the children of the Reformed shall be admitted at seven years of age to make abjuration of the Religion of their Fathers, without any hindrance or molestation. 2. That according to another Declaration of his, their said children shall have their choice either to return home to their Parents to be there kept and maintained, or else to live elsewhere, with a pension which shall be paid by their Fathers proportionable to their Estates; and 3dly, that such Fathers and Mothers who have any children in foreign Countries, shall be obliged to recall them home, upon pain of being deprived of the profits of their Estates.

I think not fit to insist here on the cruelty and injustice of this unheard of Declaration; there is no man in his wits but must own that the same is grounded upon a false, ridiculous and impious reason; that it subverts the Paternal Authority, and all the Laws of Nature and Religion.

6. Head.

I come now to the sixth Class of the Persecutions of the French Protestants, wherein I'll shew how the Liberty of Conscience so clearly established by the Edict of *Nantes*, and other Edicts of Pacification, was subverted by the French King. The Edict aforesaid gave leave in general, and without any exception, to all people whatsoever to embrace the Protestant Religion, and to remain in that Kingdom freely and quietly. But in the years 1663 and 1666 the French King issued out 3 Declarations, whereby such who had once turned Roman Catholicks could not return afterwards to the Protestant Religion; and the Popish Clergy were prohibited by the same to turn Protestants. By the second, such who had acted contrary to that Declaration were banished the Kingdom for ever; and by the third, the Parliaments and not the *Chambres del' Edict* were to take cognizance of the pretend-
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ed Crime of those pretended *Apostates* and *Relaps*, for so they were called in these Declarations. In the year 1676 another Declaration came out, adding to the punishment mentioned in the former, that the offenders should make first of all what they call * *Amende honorable*, and that their Estates should be confiscated; forbidding in the mean time the Ministers to admit them into their Churches, upon pain of Interdiction thereof.

Amende honorable is a most ignomi-

nious punishment inflicted upon a great offender, who must go through the streets bare-foot and bare-headed, with a Link in his hand and a Halter about his Neck, held by the Hang-man, unto the Court, or any other Seat of Justice, to beg pardon for the offence he has committed.

The Roman Catholicks were afterwards in general excluded from the liberty of Conscience, but by degrees, as we are going to observe. The French King, in his Declaration of the year 1666, forbid the Protestants to endeavour to pervert, as they call it, to their Religion a Roman Catholick. An Arrest of Council of State forbid Protestants, 1. To solicit their Servants, Apprentices, &c. to renounce their Religion, nor even to suffer it while they should be in their service. 2. The said Servants were likewise prohibited to change their Religion while they served any Protestant Masters. 3. The Ministers were forbidden to receive their abjuration till six months after they had actually quitted the service of Protestants, and 4. the Reformed were forbid to entertain them into their service till after their abjuration.

These were as many contraventions to the Liberty of Conscience, but in the year 1680 they pull'd off the Mask, and the King forbid all his Subjects to turn Protestants, upon pain of *Amende honorable*, perpetual Banishment, and Confiscation of their Estates. The Ministers are likewise forbid by the same Declaration to receive their abjuration, or suffer them in their Temples, upon pain of Interdiction.

The King gave another Declaration in the year 1683, whereby he forbids the Reformed to receive to the profession of their Religion, or to suffer in their Temples, any Mahometan or Heathen, upon pain of Interdiction of the publick exercise, and a fine of 500 Livres; which Declaration sheweth still more fully than the former, the blind aversion the Court had for the Protestant Religion. The King tells us therein, according to his wonted custom, the great success wherewith God has blessed his care for the converting of his Subjects; and then adds, that being informed that some Mahometans and Idolaters have been instructed by the Protestant in their false doctrine, he thought it highly necessary to prevent

vent the same for the future, and that they may not abuse their Ignorance, and engage them into a Religion contrary to their Salvation; therefore he forbids such of 'em who shall have a mind to turn Christians to profess any other Religion than the Popish. The true ground of this extraordinary Declaration is, that Mahometans and Idolaters shewed an invincible aversion to the fooleries and abominations of the Romish Church, whereas several embraced the Reformed Religion, which so incensed the Clergy, that they obtained this Declaration, that the said Mahometans might continue in their superstitions rather than turn Protestants. This is a convincing argument of their Inhumanity, and unparalleled Impiety; for since they maintain that Mahometans cannot be saved, and own that the Baptism (which they think of an absolute necessity) administered by Protestants is good, is it not a most inhumane Cruelty to hinder them from receiving the same, and consequently preclude them their Salvation?

By another Declaration in the years 1666 and 1669, the King ordered that all Foundlings, or children exposed, should be educated in the Popish Religion; and by another Declaration in the year 1682, it was ordered that all Bastards in general, of what age, sex, or condition whatsoever, should profess no other Religion but the Roman; and the Ministers and Elders were forbid, upon a penalty of 4000 Livres, to hinder directly or indirectly the execution thereof. This Declaration caused a world of troubles, for there being no age determin'd, there were some old men of 80 or 90 years who were included therein.

I have already observed, that by another Declaration given in the year 1683, the children of 14 years of age and under, of such persons who embraced the Popish Religion, were obliged to profess the said Religion as well as their Fathers; and since I remember it now, I shall conclude this Head, with the remarkable story of a young Boy, who threw himself out of a Window, because by virtue of this Declaration they would force him to go to Mass.

A Shearer of Cloath of the City of *Montpellier*, called *Saillens*, turned Roman Catholick upon account of some Money that was given him to pay his debts, and in hopes to better his fortune; but as this was the only motive of his *Conversion*, he did not much care to go to Mass, and less to carry his children thither. The Missionaries took notice of it, and threatened to persecute him, unless he performed the *duties* prescribed by the aforesaid Declaration; but he could never prevail with his Children to follow him. A Gentleman of the same City called *Maurillan*, who was a member of the *Society for the Propagation of the Faith*

Faith in that place, came one day to help the said *Saillens* to convert his children, but one of 'em, a Boy of about eleven years of age, hearing that they would carry him to the Popish Church, run away from his Fathers House: They overtook him out of the Town, and brought him home again, and the Converter tryed all possible means to gain him, as promises, threats, and other things of that nature. All his endeavours proving vain, he was so incensed that he took a Paper out of his Pocket, and told the Boy, that seeing he was so *opiniatre* he should be hang'd, and that the Paper he had in his hand contained his Condemnation, which he read to him as if it had been actually written therein. The Boy believed him, but choosing rather to dye than to go to Mass, ran to a Window and threw himself out of it two pair of stairs high; but God was pleased to spare his life, for he fell on a kind of Tent, which they use in the Southern parts of *France* against the scorching heat of the Sun, insomuch that he was not hurt in the least. I must add in this place, that the Protestants were forbid to live in several places of the Kingdom, as *Privas*, *Dijon*, and other Towns, notwithstanding they were permitted by the Edict of *Nantz* to live every where.

This seventh Head relates more particularly to the Persecution exercised against the Ministers, than those I have already mentioned: tho it may be truly said that their general design was to ruin both the Shepherd and the Flock. I must pass by all the troubles they underwent, occasioned by several Declarations concerning their residence, whereby they were obliged to quit their own habitations, families and estates; but I cannot forbear to mention in particular a Declaration given in the year 1684, whereby they were prohibited to exercise their Ministry above three years in the same place. 2. After the three years expir'd, to exercise the same within 20 leagues of the said place. 3. To live nearer than 6 leagues of the Places, where Temples should be razed, tho in a private Capacity. 4 To exercise their Ministry before twelve years expired in the same Churches, whereof they had been formerly Ministers. This Declaration is certainly very surprizing, and whoever will consider the consequences thereof, must needs be convinced, that this was an infallible way to suppress in very few years all publick Exercise of the Reformed Religion in *France*, and that this removing of the Ministers, would have rendered their condition very miserable.

One of the most violent, as well as unjust Persecutions against the Ministers, was, to forbid them to call things after their proper name, and therefore to force them to disguise truth. The King's Declarations in the years 1666, and 1669, forbid the Mi-

Ministers to use any term or expression injurious to the *Catholick Religion or the State*, and commanded them on the contrary to speak of Popery with all respect, and likewise to avoid any disrespectful expressions against *Holy things* and the *Church Ceremonies*. This proved an inexhaustible source of injustice and violence, for if any Ministers spoke against the errors and superstitions of the Popish Church, either in his Writings or Sermons, tho with all possible moderation, he was presently indicted for having *not spoken with respect* of the Catholick Religion, or *depraved Holy things* and *Ceremonies*. If his flock wanted to be comforted, and that his discourse led him to speak of the Persecutions to which Christians are exposed, this was construed as a *reflection upon the State*. If he went about to shew, that the Church of God has been persecuted in all ages, and that by chance he named *Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, Maximian, Julian the Apostate*, or any of the famous persecuters of the Church, this was taken as a Crime of *High Treason*, as if Ministers had designed to make an odious comparison between those Monsters, and *Lewis the XIV.* It must be confessed, that the Persecutions exercised under those old Tyrants, and this present French King, are so like, both in method and injustice, that the Clergy could not abide these names. The vexations the Ministers suffered thereupon were so numerous that they would fill a volume; and that they might never want evidences, they obtained a Declaration in the year 1683, whereby the King ordered that there should be in the Temples of the Reformed a distinct place for Roman Catholics, that, says he, their *presence may hinder the Ministers from uttering any expressions contrary to the respect due to the Roman Church, or prejudicial to the State, or the service of his Majesty*. These places were always full of Monks, who were always ready to swear any thing against the Ministers, thinking even Perjury with a pious pretence meritorious.

By the Declaration in the year 1666, the Ministers were forbidden to endeavour to induce the Roman Catholics to change their Religion, and on the other hand to hinder or obstruct the *Conversion* of the Reformed; and they gave so large a signification to this Prohibition, that a Minister could hardly speak, without laying himself open to the malice of their enemies. By the Declarations given in the year 1679 and 1680, against *Apostates* and *Relaps*, which I have already mentioned, it was declared, that the Ministers who should receive their abjuration, or suffer those persons in their Congregation, *should be deprived for ever of the functions of their Ministry in the Kingdom*; but in the year 1683 the King gave another Edict, wherein he was *graciously* pleased

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to declare, that the penalty was *trop douce*, too gentle, and therefore he condemned them to a *perpetual Banishment*, with the *confiscation of their Estates*, and to make first the *Amende Honorable*, the most ignominious of punishments. They were condemned to the same penalties by several other Declarations, which I must omit for brevity. I must not however forget to observe, that in the General Pardon granted by the King to the Reformed of the Provinces of *Dauphine*, *Languedoc*, &c. the Ministers were excepted out of it.

I am to speak now of the Interdiction or Suppression of the exercise of the Reformed Religion, which deserveth to be treated of more largely than the former, but the matter being so intricate for a Foreigner, that notwithstanding the help I have had of several French-men, and of their Books, I can hardly pretend to understand it my self; I'll avoid as much as I can to enter into particulars, and I shall premise only such things that I think plain and very intelligible.

There were several sorts of Churches in *France*, or rather the Titles upon which they were founded were various. Some were called *Churches of Fief*, and had but a *Personal Exercise* belonging to the Lords or Gentlemen of a Mannor, professing the Protestant Religion, who had a right to have a Minister in his Family, as a Chaplain to preach and administer the Sacraments to him, his Vassals, and every body that came there. Other Churches had a *real exercise*, that is independent of any body. The right of the former was grounded upon the 7th and 8th Articles of the Edict of *Nantes*, and that of the latter on the 9th, 10th and 11th Articles of the said Edict. But notwithstanding both were grounded upon indisputable Titles, the Clergy found numberless methods to suppress them, which I cannot particularly take notice of in the narrow bounds I have set my self. I shall only therefore observe, that if a *Relapse*, *Apostate*, as they called them, any *Turk* or Heathen, or Children of any person who had embraced the Popish Religion; or in short, any Roman Catholick, came privately into any Temples, tho unknown to the Ministers and Elders, this was enough to ground the condemnation of that Church, and to have the Temple razed. This was the case of the flourishing Churches of *Montpellier*, *Montauban*, *Castres*, *Bergerac*, *Nerac*, *Rochel*, and others, as if the fault of the Minister, supposing this had been one to suffer in the Church a Roman Catholick, ought to have occasioned the ruin of the Flock. This was an infallible method to ruin the Protestant Churches, for the Clergy never wanted emissaries to crowd into them, and indeed who would have expected that a Minister

ster should have known a Papist amongst ten or twelve thousand Persons.

9. Head.

Besides, the vexations already mentioned, they used several others in order to deprive the Reformed of all means of Comfort and Instruction. When the publick Exercise was suppressed in any place, their Ministers were forbid to reside there, that they might not privately instruct them, and sometimes pray with them. They found likewise several *Chicaneries* to hinder them from going to hear the Sermon, and receive the Sacrament in the Churches of *Fief*, that is at some Noblemens Houses in their Neighbourhood. They forbid them to meet together without a Minister. They took away their School-masters, and forbid them to send their Children into foreign Countries to be educated, seeing they could receive no education in their own Country. They were prohibited upon the penalty of 500 Livres to sing Psalms, except it was with a low voice, that the Roman Catholicks might not be disturbed thereby. It must be observed, that the Clergy called the singing of Psalms a *scandalous thing*, which expression the Council thought too impertinent to be made use of. A world of people were prosecuted upon that account; for the Reader must be informed, that the French Protestants knew almost all the Psalms by heart, and that as their tunes are fine and easie, people used to sing them in their Shops, or in the Country when they were making their Hay, reaping their Harvest, or any other sort of work. This penalty of 500 Livres did not frighten them, and the number of the offenders was so great, that they were ashamed at last to prosecute them. A Trades-man of the City of *Nismes* made an answer to the *Huiffier* or Messenger, who came to signify to him the arrest of Council against his singing Psalms, which deserveth to be taken notice of. He asked for the original of the *Citation* that he made unto him to appear before the Magistrates, and then caused him to enter his answer, which was the first verse of the xxxivth Psalm, according to the French Metre, which in this place is much the same with our new *English* Version:

*Thro all the changing Scenes of Life,
In trouble and in joy,
The Praises of my God shall still
My Heart and Tongue employ.*

Mr *Bruguier*, Minister of *Nismes*, writ a Book, to shew the injustice and impiety of forbidding Protestants to sing Psalms, and that it was an indisputable obligation upon Christians to sing the praises of God; but that work so much displeased the Court, that it was ordered to be burnt by the Hang-man.

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The National Synods were suppressed, for the Reformed could never obtain the liberty to meet in a great Assembly since the year 1659: and lest they should find some other way to maintain a general union, they were forbidden by the 15 Article of the Declaration given in the year 1669, to keep any correspondence between one Province and another, either by Letters or otherwise, upon any pretence whatsoever. Their Colloquies and Provincial Synods were likewise in some manner suppressed, or at least their priviledges entirely subverted, for the Council gave frequent arrefts to make void their resolutions.

The Popish Clergy has given in all ages so many proofs of its cruelty and bloody temper, and signified the same by so many Massacres, that no body can doubt but that they have been the chief authors of all the barbarities the Reformed have suffered in *France*. All the Declarations the French King published against them, were first of all contrived in the General Assemblies of the Clergy, and afterwards solicited by their Agents; and I have so good an opinion of the good nature of the French Nation, that I do believe the *Laitie* would scarce have minded the execution of those cruel orders, had they not been inspired, and even frightened by the Hellish Crew of *Jesuits* and bloody Bishops. This consideration obliges me to take a particular notice in this place of the conduct of the Clergy, in order to forward the extirpation of the Reformed.

As they breathed nothing but the ruin of the Protestant Churches in general, they could not endure that the Reformed should quietly live in *France*, under the protection of the Edict of *Nantz*, and other Edicts of Pacification; and they were very angry with the French King for the Declarations he gave in the years 1643 and 1652, in favour of the Reformed. However, the Civil wars, and other troubles in that Prince's minority, obliged them to dissemble their dissatisfaction. In the year 1566, when the Archbishop of *Sens*, at the head of the whole Assembly of the Clergy of *France*, complained thereof in a most scandalous and impudent Representation, made unto his most Christian Majesty, and that the Reader may judge thereof, I'll translate the first Paragraph of the same here.

'The grief of the Church under the Persecution of her Enemies, is not capable to deprive her of that rank of Glory, which has always been venerable to the greatest Kings, and her complaints imprint a sacred respect in the Hearts of her Children by a Divine Language, the Efficacy whereof their Piety alone can understand. Therefore, Sir, tho we are obliged to represent to your Majesty, the sad condition of that afflicted Mother, and to expose

pose to your eyes the *deep Wounds*, she daily receives by the violence of those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, yet we talk with no less Confidence than Zeal for her Interest, without betraying her Cause, being sure to find in the person of the best of Princes, to whom we have the honour to speak, and invincible Protector of her, &c.

The Archbishop goes on with his doleful Tune, and performs his part with so much Hypocrisie, that one would think that the misfortunes of that *afflicted Mother*, exceed the desolation of the *Daughter of Zion*, for the expressions of *Jeremiah* are, not in his opinion, strong enough to represent a Church covered with *deep Wounds*, and shedding *Tears of Blood*.

However, there were never any complaints in the world so groundless as this, for the *Romish* Church never enjoy'd a greater Tranquility than at that time, and this is so true, that in the sequel of his Speech, he can find no pretence to complain, that the Reformed had offered violence to any Bishop or other Clergy-men, that they had seized any of their Churches, their Revenues or Estate, refused to pay their Tythes, or disturbed their service. What then could be the subject of those great Lamentations, but that they lookt upon it as a great misfortune to be restrained from committing Inhumanities? They accuse indeed but falsely some private men, to have derided their foolish Ceremonies, and to have spoken unworthily of their Mysteries; but was this a sufficient reason to make such a noise? Certainly that could not be, and the favourable Declarations of the King were the true cause of these violent expostulations.

But as the Declaration of the year 1652 was even more advantageous than the former, which the King had given upon his accession to the Throne, and that the services and fidelity of the Reformed were therein mentioned, this scurrilous Declaimer attack'd the same with an unparallell'd violence, and had the impudence to tell the King, that that Declaration was unknown to his Majesty, and given without his knowledge, and that of his Mothers, and in the very face of those Councillors of State, who were present in Council when it was granted, he called it a *Work of Darknes*.

All the world knows that the French King owes in a great measure the preservation of his Crown to the fidelity and services of the late Monsieur de *Turenne*. and yet this Assembly of the Clergy, trampling under foot all sentiments of Gratitude, assumed the liberty to blame his Majesty for conferring upon him the Government of the Province of *Limosin*; which does not only discover their base and villanous temper, but likewise their excessive pride and

and ambition, as if the Kings of *France* could not confer the Governments of their Provinces upon whom they please, without asking leave of the *Reverend Clergy*.

The Speaker having run himself out of breath, and put his imagination to the rack, to magnify the pretended wounds the Church had received, since his Majesty's accession to the Throne, concludes thus. 'I shall not trespass longer upon the patience of your Majesty: it is sufficient to have discovered our grievances to obtain a quick redress thereof. You have too great a veneration for the Church your Mother, to forsake her in her distress, and the Memory of *Lewis* the XIII, to whom you owe your Glorious Birth, is too precious to you, to suffer you to abolish the marks of his Conduct, and the Monuments of his Victories. *Solomon* will perfect what *David* has so happily begun, and *Lewis Deodatus* will finish a work for which *Lewis* the *Just* has left him the Materials. And no doubt but God has reserved unto him the *Glory of the entire Extirpation of Heresy*. We expect this great work from most zealous and the most sincere Piety of your Majesty. We expect it from the devotion of the Queen, who draws upon your Royal Person, so many Blessings by her Prayers, &c.

Most of the Princes of the Blood expected that this scurrilous Declaimer should be sent immediately to the *Bastile*, to punish him for his rashness and violence, but instead thereof, the complaisance of the King for his *afflicted Mother*, prevailed so much upon his Justice and Equity, that he gave a Declaration, whereby his former granted in the year 1652, was revoked and made void. This was the Fore-runner and Presage of the Ruin of the Reformed Churches of *France*, which happened some time after.

The *French Clergy* never met since that time without making Harangues and representations to the King much upon the same tone, and the facility with which he had granted them their first unreasonable demands, made them more and more insolent. But because they were sensible of the injustice of their Requests, they granted every time to his Majesty great sums of Money, to bribe his favour and obtain whatever they desired.

While the Clergy thus openly endeavoured to ruin the Reformed, they had secret Emisaries amongst them, to make some overtures of an union of the two Religions; but this being but a snare, it took no effect, the Provincial Synods of the *Lower Languedoc*, and the *Cevennes*, having forbidden the Ministers of their respective districts, to hearken to these false insinuations.

ions. The Clergy was so incensed at that resolution, that they prosecuted Monsieur *Claude*, Minister of *Nîmes*, and Mr *Rosfel* Minister of *Anduze*, who were moderators of those Synods, and obtained an Arrest whereby they were banished out of these Provinces, because they had caused the following words of St *Paul* to be inserted in their Deliberation, That there is no communion between Light and Darkness. The famous Book of the Bishop of *Condom*, now of *Meaux*, entitled, *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholick Faith*, was calculated for that re-union, and to delude the ignorant sort of people, by giving a favourable representation of the most absurd Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*; but his artifice and unfair dealings were laid open with so much evidence by the Reformed, that his Book had not the success the Clergy expected.

The great Assembly of the Clergy in the year 1682, agreed upon another proposal, which was, to cite the Reformed before them by *Canonical Citations*, to give an account of the reasons which obliged them to live in a separate Communion from their Church, in order to condemn them as Hereticks and Schismatics, and desire the King upon that account to revoke the Edict of *Nants*. This project was disliked by his Majesty, and so the Clergy was forced for that time to content themselves with a Pastoral Admonition, which was back'd by the King's Authority. That Letter contained some old canting exhortations to the Reformed to return to the bosom of their kind Mother, and to lay aside their obstinacy, and such other stuff of the like nature; but the King's Circular Letters to the Bishops, contained something very material, for he recommended 'em *above all things, to use kindly and discreetly his Subjects of the Reformed Religion, and employ only the force of their reasons to bring them to the knowledge of Truth, without doing any thing contrary to the Edicts and Declarations, whereby the Exercise of their Religion was tolerated in his Kingdom.* Any who will be at the pains to peruse what I have already said of the infractions of the Edicts, and of the several Persecutions the Protestants had already undergone in *France*, before the year 1682, must needs be surprized at these expressions of the *French King*, for in short, they cannot but signify two things, either that he knew nothing of the Declarations published in his name against the Reformed, and of the Persecutions they groaned under, or else that he thought fit to dissemble it; and either of them seems too hard a reflexion. Having not time enough at present to examine that Dilemma, I return to my Subject,

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The General Assembly of the Clergy met again in the year 1685, and the Reformed concluded from their Harangues to the King, that their utter ruin was certainly resolved upon, for they contained nothing but Congratulations to his Majesty for the extirpation of Heresy. They extoll'd him above the *Constantines*, *Theodosius*, *Charlemains*, and other great Princes, and maintained that the honour he had gain'd by his *numberless* Victories and Conquests, was infinitely below the Glory which he had got by the Conversion of the *Huguenots*. They represented the *Romish* Church, as if he had found her in a lamentable dispersion and Slavery, and that he had raised her by his Zeal and Piety, to the highest degree of Felicity and Glory. The Bishop of *Valence*, and Monsieur *Colbert's* Son, who was Coadjutor of *Rouen*, signalized their Eloquence and Villany on this occasion, and extoll'd the methods the King had made use of as the most worthy of the *Gospel*, that might have been employ'd. The former told his most Christian Majesty, that without *Violence* and *Arms* he had reduced the *Reformed Religion* into such a condition, that she was forsaken by all reasonable persons, and yet the Reader must observe, that in the year 1683, upon occasion of the commotions in *Dauphine* which I have mentioned, that cruel Bishop himself was author of the death of a great number of People whom he had most perfidiously seduced by his false Promises and Oaths. The Coadjutor omitting the Bishop told the King, that by gaining the Hearts of Hereticks, he had conquered the obstinacy of their Souls; that by his favours he had melted their hardening; and that perhaps it would have been impossible to bring them back into the bosom of the Church, by any other means than by the way strowed with Flowers, which the King had opened unto them; that he only opposed Heresy with the Gentleness and Wisdom of his Government, and that his Laws accompanied with Favours had been his only Arms. He expressed afterward the joy his pretended Church had received, upon his Majesty's declining to make use of Fire and Sword for compleating that great work, tho that flattering Prelate could not be ignorant of the Murthers and Violences committed in *Poitou*, *Languedoc*, *Cerennes*, *Vivarais*, and other parts, nor of the resolution taken to extirpate all the Reformed Churches through the whole Kingdom.

That worthy Assembly having thus endeavoured to harangue the King out of all Justice and Moderation, proposed several new ways for compleating the conversion of the Reformed, which were laid aside, because before they parted, it was resolved to extirpate Heresy that very year by force of Arms. I shall therefore mention none of 'em, except that the Inquisition upon

Books which they had long solicited, was at last granted them in the year 1685, by an Edict of his Majesty. The Parliament of *Paris*, as slavish to the Clergy as the rest, in pursuance of the Edict aforesaid, gave an Arrest on the 29th of *August* 1685, whereby the Archbishop of that City was appointed to make a Catalogue of all the Books which the Clergy thought fit to be suppressed. That Prelate discharged that Trust with the justice that one could have expected from a person of his vicious Character, and made a large Catalogue of all the Books that he could find, written, or supposed to be written by Protestants in general, *Socinians*, *Arminians*, *Greeks*, &c. He included also therein in express terms, the *Bibles* and *New Testaments* translated by *Ministers*, as scandalous Books composed against the *Romish* Church. That Catalogue was printed, and the Parliament of *Paris* made a Decree, *Sept. 6, 1685*, whereby those Books were declared to be suppressed, and Booksellers were forbidden to sell them upon severe Penalties. The other Parliaments of *France* gave the same orders, so that the Clergy made a strict search after those Books, and burnt all that they could find.

vi. Head. The Peace of *Nimeghen* having restored a General Tranquility in *France*, the Clergy openly resumed the violent methods that had been suspended during the War; whereupon the Reformed seeing their ruine inevitable, thought of leaving that Kingdom to retire with their Families into Foreign Countries. The Declaration which impowered Children of *seven years* to embrace Popery, contributed very much thereunto, as likewise the barbarous expeditions of the Kings Forces into *Poitou*, *Dauphine*, *Vivarais*, &c. The *Lower Languedoc*, and some other Province; sent Deputies to Court, who humbly prostrated at his *Most Christian Majesty's* Feet, prayed that he would either put a stop to their Persecution, or give them leave to quit his Dominions with their Families; but the inhumanity of the Clergy was too great to suffer that Prince to grant that Request, and instead of any moderation or liberty which they desired, fresh orders were sent to the Sea Ports and Frontier Places to prevent the *desertion*, as they call'd it, of the Reformed.

By an Edict given in the year 1669, the French King forbid all Subjects whatsoever, to go and settle themselves in any Foreign Country, upon pain of confiscation of *Body* and *Estate*. The prohibition being general, it seemed then that the Reformed were no more concerned therein than *Papists*; but another Declaration published in the year 1682 undeceived the World, for therein the King set forth, that some *Persons of the said Religion*, instead of improving to their Conversion the care his Majesty took of it, not
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only continued in their blind obstinacy, but also hindered others from opening their Eyes, and inspired them with the design to go into Foreign Countries with their Families, which his Majesty forbids upon pain of the Gallies for Life for the heads of Families, and of 3000 Livers Fine, for such who should be convicted of having forwarded their departure. 'Tis true, this Declaration was only against Seamen and Artificers, but two months after, another Declaration came out, setting forth, that his Majesty being informed, that that many heads of Families of the Reformed Religion were selling their Estates, in order to return into Foreign Countries, he was pleased to forbid all his Subjects to leave his Kingdom without his Licence, upon the same penalties mentioned in the Declaration published in the year 1669, annulling and making void all Deeds of Sale of their Estates, transacted a year before their Departure. These Declarations, nor the strict Guard set upon the Frontiers, were not able to prevent the retreat of a good number of the Reformed. Those of *Poitou* made their escape into *England* and *Holland*, and those of *Dauphine*, *Languedoc*, &c. into *Switzerland*; and God having been pleased to inflame those Nations with an extraordinary Charity towards their Brethren, the kind reception they met was an encouragement to others to run the risque of being sent to the Gallies, rather than to continue in the Fetters of the Bloody *Babylon*: such who were taken were actually sent to the Gallies, where many of them are still to this day.

I think I may reckon as a Persecution, the many frauds and cheats made use of to persuade the Reformed that they did not design to extirpate their Religion in *France*: for if a man was resolved to murder me, and did several things tending thereunto, and yet should pretend a friendship for me, and express it publicly, I should sooner forgive him my Death, than his base Dissimulation. This was the case of the Reformed in *France*; for tho the Declaration given in the year 1656, was the Signal of the Persecutions designed against them, it was therein expressed, that the King's pleasure was, that the Edict of Nantz should be kept and observed according to the Form and Tenor thereof.

When the National Synod of the Reformed met at *London* in the year 1659, and that their Deputies waited on the King to thank him for that favour, his Majesty received them very graciously, and told them, that it would always be his pleasure to maintain them under the protection of the Edicts.

The Declaration given in the year 1666, confirmed all the violations and breaches made upon the Edict of Nantz by the Council

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sil and Parliament, and yet we are told therein, that the *greatest care of his Majesty has been to keep exactly the Edict of Nantz and that of the year 1629.*

The same year the late Elector of *Brandenburg* being informed that they had destroy'd in *France* about one half of the Temples of the Reformed, writ a very pressing Letter in their behalf to the *French King*, who returned him a very obliging answer, wherein, after having assured his Electoral Highness that they had razed no Temples, but such that had been built since the Edict of *Nantz*, in contempt of the Royal Authority. His Majesty adds, 'that his chief application was to preserve and maintain his Subjects of the Reformed Religion, in all affairs and upon all occasions, in all the Rights and Priviledges granted them by the Kings Predecessors, and by himself, without suffering the same to be infringed or violated: that this was the rule he prescribed to himself for observing Justice, and expressing the satisfaction he had of the Zeal and Fidelity of his said Subjects, since the last pacification in the year 1629.

In the Edict published in the year 1680, whereby the Reformed were prohibited to receive any Roman Catholick into their Communion, his Majesty declared likewise that he did *not design to make any innovation or alteration in the concessions and liberties granted to the said Reformed, and confirmed de novo, the Edict of Nantz.*

The same expressions are contained in the other Declarations, and particularly in the Circular Letter, which the *French King* wrote to the Bishops of his Kingdom, upon occasion of the Pastoral Admonition, which I have already mentioned. His Majesty expressed publickly the same sentiments upon several occasions, and protested, that if the Reformed had no reason to boast of his favour, they should never have cause to complain of his Justice: That he would willingly lose one of his Arms for their Conversion, but yet that he would not suffer any violence to be committed against them. The Intendants and Governours of Provinces spoke the same Language, and in short, that Artifice succeeded with 'em so well, that most of the Reformed were persuaded that the *French King* knew nothing of the violent persecutions to which they were exposed, and wholly lay the blame thereof upon the Clergy.

It may be, that the *French King* was thus favourably disposed at first, and I don't question but the Clergy had the greatest share in the destruction of the *French Churches*. I have already mentioned how they complimented that Prince out of his Justice into these violent methods, but I must insert in this place, how

how he was likewise frightned into a compliance by that cruel and sanguinary Crew. Every body knows that this *French* King has lived in a publick Adultery with *Madam La Valliere*, *Madam Montespan*, and *Madam de Fontange*, and that he has got by them several natural Children. This is a Vice very common to Princes, and even to other Men; and I don't mention it here as a reflexion upon him, but only to shew the Villany of the *French* Clergy. The Council of Conscience improving this opportunity to their own advantage, and the destruction of the Reformed, pressed the King to forsake his Mistresses, threatening him with Gods Judgments if he continued in that sinful course. Whoever has studied the Heart of man, will be sensible that such a proposal was very unwelcome to a young Prince, but on the other hand, the eternal torments in Hell, making a strong impression upon such who have not lost all sense of Religion, the Jesuits found means to persuade his Majesty that nothing could atone for his Adulteries, but the conversion of his Subjects to the Catholick Church; and this has been lookt upon by many wise persons, both Reformed and Papists, as the source of all the Violences committed in *France* upon account of Religion. However, this is but a conjecture grounded upon some probabilities, and I am not willing that my Readers should take it otherwise.

Before I conclude this Chapter, it will not be improper to endeavour to find out the true reason of the dissimulation of the Court of *France*, about the design they had formed long ago, to revoke and make void the Edict of *Nants*, as we may learn it in the Preamble of the Edict published *October 1685*, to revoke the former: For after all, I don't think it was Christian-like, and least most Christian, to tell the World one thing, and design another. This dissembling one may attribute to 3 reasons. 1. That the Enemies of the Reformed were ashamed of their perfidiousness. They knew that their Liberties were grounded upon perpetual and irrevocable Edicts, of which they intended to deprive them; but yet they durst not own it at first. 2. I don't question but one of the chief causes of their dissimulation, was their intention of persuading the Protestant Princes who concerned themselves for the Reformed, that the *French* King did not aim at the extirpating of their Religion. The Letter of that Prince to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, I have just now mentioned, is a demonstration of the truth of this observation, as well as the discourses of the *French* Ambassadors and Envoys in the Courts of *Europe*, who, with a confidence peculiar to themselves, faced the World with the most notorious lies,

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and gave out that the Reformed were very kindly used, even at the time of the *Dragoonal Mission* in the year 1685. They took it very ill that poor creatures who escaped the violence of that persecution, should complain of the barbarous usage they had received. Monsieur *Barillon*, who was then Ambassador of France at this Court, made a great noise of it, and pretended, that *c'étoit manquer de respect au Roi*, and I don't know what else, inasmuch, that a Book, entituled, the *Complaints of the Reformed*, &c. written by the famous Monsieur *Claude*, was burnt here by the Hang-man. As they knew that their character is respected by every body, and that it shelters them against the resentment of any private man, they abused it in a very strange manner, and reviled a world of Gentlemen Refugees, as if they had been forced to leave their Native Country for Crimes or Poverty. The third reason of their dissembling, I have already hinted at, and I don't doubt but they designed by those deceptions, to lull the Reformed asleep, in order to prevent their Escape into Foreign Countries.

Thus I have briefly touched the various methods made use of to destroy the Protestant Churches. However, I am sure I have forgotten a great many others, which could not be avoided, considering that their Enemies invented so many sorts of Persecutions, for five and twenty years, that the very Declarations, Edicts, and Arrest of Council of State, that were given against the Reformed, alone make a very large Volume.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

An account of the Barbarous Mission of the French Troops to convert the Reformed, with the Revocation of the Edict of Nants, &c.

THE Reformed Churches in *France*, being in the deplorable condition I have mentioned in the foregoing Chapter, the Clergy thought it was high time to use open force to compleat their Ruin. Every thing, it seems, favoured their design, and there was no inconveniency foreseen for the execution thereof. They had, as I have observed, undermined the said Churches for five and twenty years since, and so much weakened them, that they were not capable of making any opposition, and besides this long persecution had so much used them to patience, that there was nothing to fear from them. However they had picked out amongst the Kings Troops above 80000 Men for that service, and as Dragoons were generally thought more cruel than other Troops, all of them were employed for converting the Reformed.

The French King had concluded the year before a Truce for Twenty Years with the House of *Austria*, which, as he tells us, in his Preamble to his Edict for revoking that of *Nants*, he facilitated, that he might pursue the generous design of his Predecessors, that is, the re-union of the Reformed to the Catholick Church, and so he had nothing to fear from his Neighbours. The Arms of the Emperor had work enough in *Hungary*, and *Spain* was too weak for undertaking any thing against *France*, even when the War between those two Crowns had not been suspended by the Truce. The then King of *England* was a Bigot to Popery, and so intimately united to the French King, that he would rather have assisted him, than crossed his designs. The Northern Crowns and the Lutheran Princes of *Germany*, looked on with an unparallel-

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led unconcernedness, the destruction of the Reformed Churches, and the Reformed States were not strong enough alone, to express any resentment against *France*. Things being thus favourably disposed for the execution of their long projected design, the Kings Troops were sent to the Frontiers upon some pretence or other, under the command of Generals, who had their fortunes to make. The Marquis de Bonfflers, who from a private Gentleman has raised himself to the dignity of Duke and Marechal of *France*, was appointed Commander in chief of those that were sent into *Bearn*, and had the honour to begin the Conversion of the Reformed. The Provinces of *Guienne*, *Saintonge*, *Langue-doc*, and in short the rest of the Kingdom of *France* underwent the same fate a few weeks after. The Intendants of these respective Provinces, with the Bishops, went from Town to Town, and having summoned the Reformed in and about the same, they told them in the Kings name, *That it was his most Christian Majesty's gracious pleasure to suffer no other Religion but the Roman Catholick in his dominions; that therefore they required them to turn Roman Catholicks freely, and without any delay, or else that they would compel them thereto by force.* The poor people being surprized at such a proposal, answered, That their Bodies and Estates being in the King's power, they might use them as they pleased, but that their Consciences depending only on God Almighty, they could not dispose it to forsake a Religion which they believed to be the true, to embrace another in which they perceived many dangerous errors.

No sooner was the Assembly separated, but the Troops immediately seized on the Gates and avenues of the Cities, placing Guards in the passages, that no body might make their escape, and then entered them with the same fury, as if they had been taken by storm, Sword in hand, crying kill kill, or else turn Catholick. The said Troops were then quartered at discretion upon the Reformed with the Advice of the Bishop or his Priests, with a strict charge to the said Reformed, that none should depart their Houses, or conceal any of their goods or effects upon severe Penalties, and such of the Roman Catholicks, who out of Friendship, Kindred, or Humanity, were convicted of harbouring the Goods of the Reformed, or any ways assisted them, were most severely fined. It is impossible to me to describe here the disorders committed by those Troops, Ink it self is not black enough to give an Idea of those Barbarities, the very sight of which would have melted the fierceness of the *Cannibals*, and of all other Men, except Papiists, the most cruel of all Creatures upon earth.

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The first days were spent in consuming all Provisions the House afforded, and plundering whatever they could find, as Money Rings, Jewels, Plate, &c. They seized on the Household Goods, which they exposed to Sale, by Authority of their Commanders and the Magistrates, and when they had rifled all that was valuable, they fell on the Persons of the said Reformed, abusing them in a Thousand manners, to oblige them to change their Religion. With a thousand hideous Cries and Blasphemies, they hung Men and Women by the Hair or Feet to the Ceiling of Rooms, or to Chimney hooks, and smoakt them with Wisps of wet Hay, till they were no longer able to bear it, and when they had taken them down, if they refused to subscribe an Act of Abjuration, they hung them up immediately again. They threw others on great Fires kindled on purpose, and pulled them not out, till they were half roasted, and then tyed Ropes under their Arms, and dipped them to and again into cold Wells, till they promised to change their Religion. They revived in several places, what they had practised in *Poitou, Vivarais, &c.* to tie People upon a Table, and pour Wine down their Throat, till they made them say, that they would turn Papists. They stript others naked, and after having offered them several affronts, which honesty does not permit to relate here, they stuck them with Pins from the top to the bottom. They cut others with Pen-knives, and in some places they took others with red hot Tongues by the Nose, dragging them along the rooms till they promised to go to Mass, they miserably beat others, and dragged them half dead to Churches, where their bare presence was accounted for a formal abjuration.

Sure these methods are very cruel, but they made use of another, which, tho less inhumane at the first sight, is perhaps the greatest Torment that the Devil or a Jesuit could have invented. They kept people for a week together from sleeping one minute, relieving one another to watch them night and day, to keep them waking, which they affected by pinching them, by throwing Buckets of Water on their Faces, by plucking off their Beard, and by holding over their heads Kettles turned downwards, wherewith they made a continual noise, till the poor creatures had lost their senses. I knew a very honest Gentleman, who had been proof against most of the Cruelties I have already mentioned, and was overcome by this exquisite Torment; too great, to use his own words, to be expressed even by such who have undergone the same.

If they found any persons, either men or women, sick a bed, of Fevers, or other violent diseases, they had the cruelty to bring

as many Drums as they could procure about their Beds, where for whole weeks together they made all the noise they could, in order to force those poor creatures to renounce their Religion. It hapned in several places that they tyed Fathers and Husbands to their Bed-posts, and in their sight ravished their Wives and Daughters: for it must be observed, that in some places, and not every where, Rapes were publickly and generally permitted for many hours together. They pluckt off the Nails from the Hands and Toes of several persons, which must cause such a violent pain, that the very thoughts of it inspire a man with horror. They blew up men and women with Bellows til they were ready to burst. They burnt the soles of the Feet of others with red hot Shovels; which torment was contrived at *Villedieu d'Annai* in *Poitou* by the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, as he was returning from the General Assembly of the Clergy, who took a singular delight to hear the cries of one *Palmentier*, upon whom that cruelty was first tried. One *Charpentier* of *Ruffec* in *Poitou* was exposed to another punishment, which I think is without any example. They made him drink above thirty Glasses of Water, and laid him upon his back on a Table, opened his eye-lids, and dropp'd upon the apples or balls of the same hot tallow from a Candle, whereby they put him to so violent a pain that he expired in their hands. The Dutch Consul at *Nants* and several others had their Beards pluckt off, which cruelty was a sport to those Monsters.

I could bring a world of other instances, but I must remember the brevity I have prescribed to my self. However, I cannot forbear to mention that the Dragoons, after having most cruelly tormented one *Lescun* of *Tonneins* in *Guienne*, and likewise his Servant Maid, stripped them naked, and exposed them to the eyes of the people, tyed together face to face, with such other circumstances that Modesty does not permit me to mention, nor any body to guess. They stripped other women stark naked, and in the face of the Sun burnt all their hair with Torches. To conclude this horrid paragraph, whosoever has a mind to know more particulars, let him read the *History of the Edict of Nants*, by Mr *Benoit*; the *just complaints of the Reformed*, Sec. by Mr *Claude*, the *Vindication of the Liberties of the Reformed Churches*, by Mr *Gautier*; where the particulars of the barbarous Mission of the Dragoons are most accurately handled, and attested.

If these horrid usages were not enough to make people renounce their Religion, they imprisoned them in close, dark and noisome Dungeons, in which they exercised upon them all sorts of

of Inhumanities. In the mean time they demolished their Houses, wasted their Estates, cut down their Woods and Forests, and confin'd their Wives and Children to Monasteries. If any to secure their Conscience and to escape the Tyranny, of the Soldiers, endeavour'd to run away, they were pursued, hunted, and shot at like wild Beasts.

One must not fancy that this storm fell only on the common sort of people, Noblemen and Gentlemen were not exempted from it. They had Soldiers quartered upon them in the same manner as Citizens and Peasants had, who plundered their Houses, razed their Castles, and used them with as much insolence and barbarity, as the meanest of their Servants. They spared neither Age, Sex, or Quality, and where-ever they found any willingness to obey the Kings Command to change their Religion, they practiced the same violences. I have heard of some Ladies in *Poitou*, and who I think are now in *England*, whom the Soldiers forced to hold the Chamber-pot for 'em, and of another called *Madam de la Valade*, whom they tired by several cruelties, and to crown all, they took up her Coats, and set her upon a Chafing-dish full of burning Coals. Several Ladies of Quality had their Faces and Breasts disfigured with several cuts of their Daggers.

The Military Officers themselves were not exempted from that persecution: They were ordered to quit their Posts and Quarters, and repair to their Houses, where they were exposed to the same violences as others. Many Gentlemen and other Persons of Quality, and many Ladies of great Age and antient Families, seeing all these outrages, hoped to find a Sanctuary in *Paris*, or at the Court, thinking that the Dragoons would not torment them so near the King's Presence; but their hopes proved vain, for the Council being informed thereof, gave a decree, whereby they were commanded to leave *Paris* in 15 days, and return without delay to their own Houses; with a prohibition to all persons to entertain or lodge them in their Houses. Some having attempted to present Addresses to the King, to lay before his Majesty the cruelties exercised upon them, and humbly beseech him to stop the course thereof, it was so highly resented that they were committed to the *Bastile*.

But before I proceed any further, it will not be amiss to make some few remarks on this new way of converting people to the Christian Religion. First, that every where, at the head of the Infernal Legions of these booted Missionaries, besides the Military Officers and Intendants, marched also the Bishops every one in his Diocess, with a Troop of Missionaries, and other Clergy-men.

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The Intendants gave such orders as they thought most fitting¹ to carry on Conversions, and restrain natural pity and compassion, if at any time it found any place in the hearts of Dragoons, which hapned but seldom. The Bishops were to keep an open house to receive Abjurations, and to take care besides that every thing was transacted according to the intention of the Clergy. The second thing I must observe is, that where the Dragoons had converted any Reformed by the Inhumanities they exercised, they immediately changed their quarters, and sent them upon such who persevered in their Religion. This order was so strictly observed, that it often happened that one single person was at last obliged to keep all the Troops, which were at first quartered upon all the Reformed of a Town; whereby there was no body, who never so rich, who could avoid an utter ruin. 3. Whenever the Master of a House, or Head of a Family renounced his Religion to get rid of his troublesome Guests, that signify'd very little, for if his Wife or any of his Children, or even the meanest of his Servants, persisted in their profession, or fled away, they ceased not to torment him till the whole Family had complied. I shall observe in the 4th place, that in order to gain the Reformed, the Missionaries insisted at first, that they should renounce the Errors of *Calvin* in general, and embrace the truths taught in the *Romish Church* without entering into any particulars; and they so little minded this affair, that they received in several places the following Declaration for a real abjuration of the Reformed Religion. *I do own and profess the Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Church, as it was in the time of the Apostles, and I renounce and abjure all the errors that have crept into it since that time.* But as this complaisance of the Clergy was but a Snare, they discovered soon after their true intentions, and the Troops returned again, to make people subscribe the profession of Faith drawn up by order of Pope *Pius IV.* after the Council of *Trent*. Their Cruelty did not stop there; for they made them subscribe, *that of their own accord, without any force, compulsion and violence, they had embraced the Catholick Faith;* which last persecution occasioned more mischief than the former. 5. While the Troops were thus ransacking the Provinces of the Kingdom, carrying Fears and Destruction every where, orders were sent to all the Frontier Places and Sea Ports to guard the Passages with an extraordinary care, to prevent the escape of their *New Converts*; and to render the same more difficult, they were forbidden to stir from home upon any pretence whatsoever, without a Certificate from a Priest. The Neighbouring States were required not to harbour any more Fugitives, and to send back such as they had already received. Attempts

tempts were also made to seize and carry away some who had escaped into Foreign Countries.

Whilst these bloody Tragedies were acting throughout the Kingdom, they were consulting at Court, how to repeal the Edict of *Nants*, and much time was spent in drawing up the new Edict, whereby the former was to be made void. They were likewise very much perplexed concerning the Ministers of the Reformed; some were for using them as the Laity, in order to force them to change their Religion, or to condemn them to a perpetual Imprisonment. Others on the contrary were of opinion, that they ought to be banished, lest their constancy in their sufferings, should be a perpetual exhortation to their Flocks, to persevere in a Doctrine, for which their Shepherds were Confessors and Martyrs. This last advice prevailed upon the other, and so the Ministers were banished, and ordered to depart the Kingdom in a fortnights time, upon pain of the Gallies.

The Edict being at last agreed upon, (for it was no easy matter to put a tolerable varnish over such a perfidiousness) it was signed and sealed the 18th of *October* 1685, verified in the Parliament on the 22d of the same month, and immediately forwarded to the other Parliaments of *France*. This Edict contains a long Preface and 12 Articles. In the Preface the King tells the World, that *Henry* the Great, his Grand Father granted the Edict of *Nants*, to prevent that upon account of the Reformed Religion, the Peace which he had procured to his Subjects might not be disturbed, and to diminish the aversion, which his Subjects of the two Religions had one for another; and that he might more effectually apply himself to re-unite to the Romish Church those who upon so slight pretences had separated themselves from it, but that his intention had been disappointed by his untimely Death. That his Father King *Lewis* XIII. animated by the same Spirit and Zeal for Religion, having pacified the Kingdom by the Edict of *Nismes* in the year 1629, was resolved to improve that Tranquility, and put that pious design into execution; but that the Kingdom having been almost continually disturbed with Wars from the year 1635, to the Truce concluded in the year 1684, which he had facilitated wholly to apply himself to that great work, and that the greatest and best part of his Subjects of the said Religion having embraced the Catholick Faith, the said Edicts of *Nants* and *Nismes* were become useles, and therefore he thought fit to suppress them, and likewise all other Edicts, Declarations and other things, which might have been transacted in favour of the said Religion. By the first Article the said Edicts are accordingly suppressed to all intents and purposes; and all the
Temples,

Temples, which were then standing, were ordered to be forthwith razed to the ground. By the second and third, he forbids all meetings upon account of Religion, or any private or publick exercise of the same upon pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of Estate; by the fourth all Ministers are banished and ordered to depart the Kingdom within fifteen days after the publication of the said Edict upon pain of the Gallies. In the 5th and 6th Articles, the King promises great rewards and advantages to the Ministers, who shall change their Religion, to be likewise continued unto their Widows. By the 7th and 8th Parents are forbidden to instruct their Children in the Reformed Religion, and it is expressly ordered, that all Children born after the publishing of the said Edict shall be Christened by a Romish Priest, and brought up in the Catholick Religion, requiring Parents to send them to Church, upon penalty of 500 Livres. The 9th gives four months time to such Persons as have departed the Kingdom, to return home, and upon failure thereof, orders that their Estates shall be confiscated. The 10th forbids all the Reformed to depart the Kingdom, or convey away their Wives and Children and effects upon pain of the Gallies, and imprisonment for Women. The 11th confirms, all the Declaration given heretofore against the Relaps, and in the 12th the King declares, 'that such of his Subjects of the said Reformed Religion, may, till God enlightens them, continue in his Dominions, carry on their Trade, and enjoy their Estate without being molested upon account of their Religion, provided they make no exercise thereof'.

The same day the Edict aforesaid was published, they razed the Temple of *Charanton*, and few days after all the other Temples that remained standing in the Kingdom. The King published also another Declaration, forbidding the exercise of the Reformed Religion on board his Men of War and Merchant Ships, and the *Lieutenant of the Police in Paris*, gave an order forbidding the Reformed to go to the Foreign Ambassadors Chappels upon the same Penalties mentioned in the Kings Edict.

The Ministers had 15 days allowed them to depart the Kingdom, but Monsieur *Claude*, Minister of *Charanton*, was commanded to depart *Paris* in 24 hourstime, and one of the Kings Footmen was ordered to attend him to the Frontiers. It is impossible to express the trouble the Ministers were put unto, they were first of all obliged to take Passes which were sometimes denied them till the 15 days mentioned in the Edict were expired, and then they threatened to send them to the Gallies, according to his Majestys Edict, in order to frighten them, and gain them

over

over to carry away their moveable effects, nay they disputed them their Books and private Papers, and would have put them to the trouble to justify, that the said Books and Papers did not belong to their Churches, which was a thing impossible, seeing there were no *Consistories* then subsisting. They were likewise forbidden to take along with them either Father or Mother, or Brother or Sister, or any of their Kindred, tho there were many of 'em infirm, decayed and poor, which could not subsist but by their means. They went so far as even to deny them their own Children, if they were above seven years old, nay some they took from 'em, that were under that age, and even such as yet hanged upon their Mothers Breasts. They refused them Nurles for their new born Infants, and stopped and imprisoned several of them in their Sea Port Towns or Frontier Places. All the French Ministers had not however the courage to quit their Country, and being on the other side tempted with the great offers that were made unto them, some few renounced their Religion, and gave a very bad example to their Flocks. Most of 'em have repented of their weakness, and have quitted that Kingdom.

The 12th Article of the Edict aforesaid was so clear and express, that the Reformed expected an end of the violence and cruelties of the Dragoons, and that they might safely continue in *France*, and enjoy their Estates and their Religion, provided they made no publick exercise thereof; but this was but a snare, and the blackest perfidiousness that ever was; for as soon as they saw that the Reformed, relying upon his Majesty's word, were returned to their habitations, they quartered Souldiers upon them, and used them as barbarously as they had done before, laughing at their credulity. Some honest *Roman* Catholicks were deceived themselves, and did not think the Court would have been guilty of so mean a trick. The Duke of *Noailles*, who commanded the Forces in *Languedoc*, was of that number, and sent an Express to Court to have the solution of that difficulty; whereupon the *Marquis de Louvois* acquainted him with the true intentions of the Most Christian King in the following words: *I am confident that the quartering of a pretty good number of Soldiers upon such of the Nobility and others who profess still the Reformed Religion, will undeceive them and make them sensible of the true sense they are to give to the Edict drawn up by Monsieur de Chateaufneuf, and his Majesty desires that you shew your self very severe, against such who will be the last professors of a Religion that he hates, and the exercise of which he has prohibited in his Kingdom.* The Duke of *Noailles* was ashamed of this base artifice, and in his own vindication shewed this answer to several Persons, who otherwise might have believed that the

Cruelties committed in *Languedoc* after the publishing of the Edict afore-mentioned, were not approved by the Court. The same *Louvois* sent at that time this general order to all the officers of the King's Troops, that they might not be remiss in their cruelties, as the Duke of *Noailles* had been. *His Majesty's pleasure is, that you exercise the last Rigors against such, who will not embrace his Religion, and such who have the Sottish Glory to be the last, must be used with the last severity.*

Thus the 12th Article of the Edict, which in express terms promised a full Liberty of Conscience to such who still persisted in the Reformed Religion, proved but a base snare to catch such who had made their escape, and who were wandering on Mountains and Forests, till they could find an opportunity to go into Foreign Countries. This Persecution was so general, that no body was exempted from it, besides Monsieur *Duquesne*, one of the Vice-Admirals, not so much in consideration of his services, as for fear that he would retire into Foreign Countries, and discover the true condition of the French Fleet, and of all their Sea affairs. The Duke of *La Force* had first of all his Children taken away, and was confined to a Monastery, insomuch that at last he yielded, but no hard usage was able to overcome the constancy of the Dutchess, who, after having tired out the cruelty of her Persecutors, obtained leave to come over into *England*, few days after the death of her Husband, which hapned about *Easter* last; God having given him the grace to repent of his weakness, and to dye in the profession of the true Religion.

* To conclude this Article of the Persecution of the French Reformed, I shall add in this place, that about that time it was confidently reported, both in *France* and foreign Countries, 'that the Clergy being enraged at the resistance and obstinacy, as they call'd it, of the Reformed, and that they could not hinder their escape, tho all possible means were made use of, represented to the King, that nothing but a general Massacre could compleat that great work: That orders were given out accordingly, but that a certain Prince having notice thereof, had courage enough to speak to his most Christian Majesty about it, and was so happy as to persuade the King to the contrary, whereupon the orders were recalled. Some have given the honour of it to the late Prince of *Cende*, others to the late Prince of *Coni*, but tho this was reported for a certain truth, I won't insist upon it, and things of this nature require more positive proofs.

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The Persecution in the Principality of Orange.

THe Persecution was too violent to be restrained in the Dominions of the French King, and therefore it entered the Principality of *Orange*, and the Valleys of *Piedmont*, as we shall observe in its place.

The Principality of *Orange* lies in *France*, bounded to the West by the River *Rhone*, which separates it from the *Languedoc*, and to the North, East and South by *Dauphine* and *Provence*. I have already mentioned how the French King, against all manner of justice, seized the same during the minority of his Majesty of *Great Britain*, to whom it belongs; it was restored, and seized again upon account of the War which broke out in the year 1672, but at last it was again restored by the Treaty of *Nimeghen*. That Principality lying in *France*, the French Reformed retired thither as to a Sanctuary in time of Persecution, but the Parliament of *Orange*, remembring how severely they had been used in the year 1682 upon that pretence, and fore-seeing the storm with which they were threatned, gave several Arrests in the year 1685, commanding the French Refugees to depart that Principality, and sent Officers from House to House, in order to discover if any one remained there contrary to their prohibition. Their precaution however was useless, for the Bishop of *Orange* writ to the French Court, that there were above 10000 French Refugees in *Orange*, and above 60 Ministers who preached upon the Ramparts of the City. This advice was notoriously false, but as the Court wanted but a pretence, the Count *de Grignan*, the King's Lieutenant in *Provence*, with Intendant *Morant*, received orders to repair immediately to *Orange*, with one Troop of Horse Guards, and another of Dragoons. They complained in civil terms that they had given a retreat to the King's Subjects, and desired that they would command them to depart the Principality. They answered, that what they desired had been already done, and the Arrests of Parliament were produced. The Magistrates told them further, that they would make a new search to endeavour to find out if there were any of 'em hid. The Count *de Grignan* and the Intendant seemed very well pleased with the Conduct of the Magistrates, and having assured them of the King's favour, and that they would send a favourable account to Court, they went away,

having tarry'd about 24 hours in the City, and their Troops having committed no manner of disorders. Every body thought that the Count *de Grignan* was sincere, and did not dissemble on this occasion, and I am inclined to believe so too my self; but whatever it be, the night after his departure the City of *Orange* was invested by the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons commanded by the Count *de Tesse*, who posted Guards upon all the Avenues, that no body within the Town could make their escape. He sent likewise at the same time some Detachments to invest *Courtezon* and *Jonquiers*, two small Towns belonging to the Principality.

The Inhabitants of *Orange*, who entirely rely'd upon the word of Monsieur *de Grignan*, were mightily surprized the next morning, when they saw their City invested, and the Count *de Tesse* entering the same with several Troops of Dragoons, which were drawn up in the publick places, while the rest kept the Avenues without. That General protested at first, that he had no orders either to raze the Temples, or disturb the exercise of their Religion, and that he was only come to compel the Subjects of the King, his Master, to return home, requiring the Magistrates to give him a List of the same, that he might give them Passes. This protestation of Monsieur *de Tesse*, revived a little the Inhabitants of *Orange*, who exactly complied with his demands, making several Lists of all the French King's Subjects, who were in their City, together with an account of their Ages, Quality, Profession, and the time since they were arrived there. These Lists were delivered to the Count *de Tesse*, who delivered Passes for those who were nominated therein, except to Monsieur *de Vignoles*, a Minister in the *Lower Languedoc*, upon pretence that he would speak with him. Some time after he sent for the said *Vignoles*, and all other Ministers to the Bishop's Palace, where they repaired accordingly, with a great crowd of people, who were very impatient to know the event of this affair. He received them in the Hall of the Bishop, who stood to his Right, and another Bishop in a Lay habit, to his Left, and made them the following Speech. *Gentlemen, you have had the misfortune to displease the King, and you especially, Sir, (speaking to Monsieur Petit, one of the Ministers.) You have done five hundred Actions more impertinent one than the other, and I shall have no credit, or else you shall be hang'd. Go all to Prison.* Then directing his discourse to the Magistrates, he added, *Gentlemen, I forbid you in the Kings name, to make any exercise of your Religion for the future in this Principality upon pain of death.* This Brute having finished this Oration, ordered an Officer to carry the Ministers to Prison, and recommended him loudly in presence of

of all the Spectators, to take care that they should be put in the darkest holes of the Prison. The Ministers being thus imprisoned, the Count de Tesse set Guards about the Temples, and the next morning caused the same to be demolished. All the Dragoons then entered the Town, and remained there for seventeen days, quartered upon Protestants and Papists, without forcing any body to go to Mass. The reason of this long delay was, that the death of the Chancellor of *France* had caused some interruption in the publick Affairs, but that term being expired, an Express brought orders to the said Monsieur de Tesse, containing, *that the Reformed of the Principality of Orange should be compelled to re-unite themselves to the Church, by the same means that were used in the King's Dominions.*

Orders were never better observed than these. The Dragoons were immediately removed from the Papists to Protestants, where they committed for a fortnight all the inhumanities they had exercised in *France*, without any respect to the age and quality of Persons, that is, they plundered, burnt, destroyed, beat, hang'd, ravished, as they had done in *Languedoc*, and other Provinces, and carried away the Ministers of the Principality, whom they detained close Prisoners at *Pierre Encise* near *Lyons*, till after the Peace of *Reswick*.

The Prince of *Orange* having advice thereof, complained of that unparallel'd injustice to the States of *Holland*, and to the Court of *England*, and desired satisfaction for the same; but notwithstanding the Intercession of the late King *James*, and the States General, the Court of *France* would never be perswaded to hearken to Justice and Moderation. The French, it seems, thought themselves then above the rest of Mankind, and free from the Rules of Equity.

*Nescia mens hominum Fati sortisque futura,
Et servare modum rebus sublata Secundis.*

They thought very little then, that there would be a Treaty of Peace concluded in the Palace of that very Prince, for whom they had so little regard, and that they should be forced to own the injustice of this usurpation. What the French Court could say to justify their proceedings, I don't know, but sure I am, that they flatly denied to give any satisfaction to his Highness, as the Reader may see by the following Copy of a Letter written by the Earl of *Sunderland*, to his Majesty, then Prince of *Orange*.

White-

Whitehall, February 12, 1683. O. S.

Sir,

I Have acquainted the King with what your Highness was pleased to write to me in your Letter of the 12th N. S. upon which his Majesty commanded me to send to your Highness, a Copy of Sir *William Trumball's* last Memorial, and to assure your Highness, that his Majesty has done what he could possibly think fit to do in the affair of *Orange* towards your satisfaction, having spoke to the Ambassador of the French King here, as warmly as his Envoy had order to speak there. And he does now desire to know what your Highness would have done farther, being very intent upon doing all he can. It is a great mortification to me, that a business which passes through my hands, and that is of so great concern to your Highness, should have such ill success. If any pains or endeavours of mine could contribute to your service, I should think them all well employed, wishing for nothing so much in the World, as to be able to let your Highness see, how zealously and how truly I am

Your Highness's

most Faithful, most Humble,
and most Obedient, Servant,
Sunderland P.

The Ministers of the Principality, after a twelve years imprisonment, were set at liberty upon the conclusion of the late Peace, and sent back to *Orange*, where they were received by the Inhabitants with all imaginable demonstrations of joy; and as the pretended conversion of the latter was but an effect of the cruelties of the Dragoons, they had no sooner the liberty to *breathe a free air*, but they declared and testify'd their abhorrence for the Romish Idolatry, and all of em returned to the profession of the Protestant Religion, except two persons, who had made themselves so infamous, and were guilty of so many Crimes against their Prince, that they durst not continue in his Dominions. It was observable also, that several ancient Papists embraced the Protestant Religion, which sheweth how little reason the Church of *Rome* has to boast of the pretended conversion of the Reformed in *France*.

The *English* themselves who were settled in *France* upon account of their Commerce, were not exempted from this general Persecution; but because I must hasten to a conclusion, I'll forbear to enter into any particulars, and content my self with a Paragraph

graph out of the Declaration of War, published by his present Majesty against the French King, *May 7. 1689.*

But that which most nearly touches us, is his unchristian persecution of many of our *English* Protestant Subjects in *France* for matters of *Religion*, contrary to the Laws of Nations and express Treaties, forcing them to abjure their Religion, by strange and unusual Cruelties, and imprisoning some of the Masters and Seamen of our Merchant Ships, and condemning others to the *Galleys*, upon pretence of having on board either some of his own miserable Protestant Subjects, or their effects.

This sheweth the great zeal of the *French* for the conversion of the Protestants; and no doubt but upon the least Request, they would have willingly sent over their *Booted* Missionaries to Convert us.

The Persecution of the *Vaudois*.

HAVING given in the beginning of this Book an account of the Massacre in the Valleys of *Piedmont* in the year 1655, and how the *Vaudois* were restored by the intercession of the Protestant Princes, and especially by the threats of the Protector of *England*, I must proceed now to present the Reader with a short History of the persecution they underwent in the year 1686.

The great Services the *Vaudois* had done to the present Duke of *Savoy*, in the War which he had with the *Genoeses* in the year 1672, made them hope that their Tranquillity would be unalterable, under the Government of his Royal Highness, and the following Letter which their Prince sent them on that occasion, was very proper to inspire them with those sentiments.

To our most dear and faithful Subjects, the Communities of the Valleys of Lucern, Peyroule, and St Martin, and of the Quarters of Prarustin, St Bartholomew, and Roche-platte.

The Duke of *Savoy*, Prince of *Piedmont*, King of *Cyprus*, &c.

Most Dear and Faithful,

BEING very well pleased with the Zeal and Readiness with which you have provided men, who have served us to our entire satisfaction in the War we had against the *Genoeses*, we have thought fit by these presents to testify unto you our good liking thereof, and to assure you that we will keep it in particular remem-

membrance, to make you sensible on all occasions of the effect of our Royal Protection, whereof Count *Bocaria*, our Intendant, shall give you a more full information, having commanded him to express to you our sentiments more at large, and also to take a List of the Officers and Soldiers, and likewise of such who are dead, or remain Prisoners, and report the same unto us, to the end, that we may have due regard thereunto. In the mean time these Presents shall serve you for an assured Testimony of our satisfaction and good will towards you. VVe pray God to preserve you from evil.

Turin, November 5, 1672.

The *Vandois* assisted likewise the Duke in the suppression of the Rebellion of the *Mondovians* in the year 1681 and 1684, for which they received from him publick acknowledgments; but as persecution and ingratitude are essential to Popery, those great services were forgotten, and the poor *Vandois* were as barbarously used as the *French* Protestants.

The persecution of the Reformed in *France*, obliging a great number of em to quit that Kingdom, several made their escapes into the Valleys of *Piedmont*, where they thought to find a Sanctuary, but they were soon disappointed of that hope, the Governor of the said Valleys having towards the end of the year 1685, published an order, forbidding all Foreigners to inhabit the same, and to remain there above three days without his leave, and the Inhabitants were by the same order prohibited to lodge or entertain them upon severe penalties. This prohibition made the *Vandois* suspicious that some foul design or other was hatching against them. They were not long in suspense; for on the 11th of *February*, 1686, the Duke of *Savoy* published an *Edict*, whereby he re-called and made void and null all the concessions granted by himself or his Predecessors to the *Vandois*. His Royal Highness following the example, gratitude and sincerity of his most Christian Majesty, set forth that the reasons which had induced his Predecessors to tolerate the exercise of the Reformed Religion in the Valleys are ceased, and especially since the most Christian King by his Heroick Piety, has re-united all his Subjects of the said Religion to the Catholick Church; and then forbid upon pain of death, all his Subjects of the said Reformed Religion, to continue the exercise thereof, and to meet together upon that pretence, ordering and commanding, that all their Temples should be forthwith razed to the ground. He forbids them likewise upon the same Penalties, to keep any Schools for the instruction of their Youth, and commands them to carry their Children to the Priest

Priests of their respective Parish, in order to be Christened by them, and brought up in the Romish Religion, upon pain of being sent for five years to the Gallies for men, and for women to be publickly whipt.

The Ministers and School-masters upon refusal of imbracing the Romish Religion, are ordered to depart the dominions of his Highness in a fortnight, upon pain of Death, and confiscation of their Estates; but such Ministers who shall turn Roman Catholics are promised Pensions of one third greater value than those they had as Ministers, and that one half of the same shall be continued to their Widows.

'Tis impossible to express the surprize of the *Vandois*, when they heard the first news of this cruel Edict. They met immediately together, to advise what measures to take in that difficult juncture, and resolved to send some Deputies to the Duke of *Savoy*, to endeavour to obtain the revocation of the said Edict. The said Deputies being admitted to Audience, set forth the innocence of the *Vandois*, and their ancient Priviledges, which had been confirm'd by his Royal Highness; they represented with a profound respect, their Fidelity and great Services, and put him in mind of the fair promises that had been made unto them but two or three years before, and the assurances of his Protection, and that he would maintain them in all their Priviledges and Liberties. The Duke told the Deputies, that he would consider of their Representation, and return an Answer in 8 days, but that he desired in the mean time, that the *Vandois* should not exercise their Religion. They consented thereunto, in hopes that their compliance would be a means to obtain Justice; but after having waited three weeks, the Council of *Turin* made this short Answer; *That their Prince would be obeyed, and that they were to submit to his late Edict.*

The Deputies being returned home, the *Vandois* met again, and having considered the injustice of that prohibition, resolved to continue the publick exercise of their Religion, notwithstanding the Edict of their Sovereign, and made preparations to defend themselves in case of any attack. The Duke, who had foreseen that this Warlike people were like to oppose Force with Force, thought his Troops were not strong enough to subdue them, and therefore called to his assistance about 10000 French, under the Command of Monsieur *de Catinat*, who had their Rendezvous in the Valley of *Perouse*, and the *Savoyards* in the Valleys of *Lucerne*.

The Reformed Cantons of *Switzerland* having advice thereof, held an Assembly at *Baden*, in the month of *February* 1686, where-in it was resolved to send Ambassadors to the Court of *Turin*, to intercede for the *Vandois*. They represented to the Duke, that the Cantons concerned themselves in that affair, not only as protesting the same Religion as the *Vandois*, but also because they were Mediators of the Patents granted in their behalf in the year

1655 and 1663. The Court of *Turin* disputed not the reasons alledged by the Deputies of the Cantons, but told them, that the engagements wherein the Duke of *Savoy* had entered with the King of France opposed the success of their negotiation. The Deputies presented another Memorial, shewing that the Predecessors of his Royal Highness had engaged their word to several Sovereigns, and in particular to the Reformed Cantons, for the execution of the Privileges granted to the *Vandois*, and that therefore the new engagements of the Duke of *Savoy* with France were not sufficient to excuse what he did. They added several other reasons, to shew what disreputation the violation of his Oath would bring upon him; and lastly, that it was inconsistent with his interest to destroy an industrious people, who were ready to serve him upon every occasion; but neither the reasons of the Ambassadors, nor their pressing Solicitation, nor the intercession of many other Protestant Princes, were able to obtain the revocation of the cruel Edict afore-mentioned, which confirmed the world, that the Duke of *Savoy* was in some manner forced to extirpate the *Vandois*, and the Marquis of *St Thomas* one of his Ministers of State, swore to the Ambassadors, that the Duke could not revoke his Edict, because he was not Master of it; but that he was willing to accept of some Expedients, and even to give the *Vandois* Liberty to retire out of his Dominions, and to dispose of their effects. This opened a new Negotiation, which at last produced nothing at all, so that the French Army under *Catinat* attacked the Valleys of *Perouse* and *St Martin*, April 22, 1686. and that of *Savoy* those of *Lucern* and *Angro-ne* upon the very same day.

Tho the *Vandois* were but a handful of men in comparison of the French and *Savoyards*, they made so vigorous a resistance, and kill'd so many of their men, that 'tis likely their Enemies could not have conquer'd them, had they not joyned fraud and deceit to their force. *Don Gabriel* of *Savoy*, Uncle to the present Duke, and General of his Forces, and the Marquis de *Parella*, invited them to submit, and engaged their oath and promise, with the Dukes approbation, that they should be pardoned, and that their Persons, their Wives and Children should not be touch'd. Monsieur *Catinat* swore the same thing, and added in his French Language, that tho his whole Army should pass by their Houses, they should not kill so much as a Chicken. These promises confirmed by Oath, perswaded the poor *Vandois* to lay down their Arms, and notwithstanding a long and fatal experience ought to have convinc'd them that perfidiousness is inseparable from Popery, and that therefore the Word or Oath of a Papist is nothing but cheat and deceit, they were once more deceived, and submitted to the terms proposed by those worthy Generals. The Papists no sooner saw that poor people dispersed and returned to their Habitations, but they fell upon them, and shewing themselves the true Offspring of that Creature, which the Scripture calls a *Liar* and a *Mur-*

Murderer from the beginning, they committed so many barbarities upon all persons of all Age, Sex, and Condition, that they have reverſed the Attainder of the Nero's, Domitians, and other Primitive Perſecutors.

I muſt here avoid to enter into particulars, becauſe I muſt haſten to a Concluſion; and beſides, I ſhould be forced to repeat what I have already ſaid of the various Torments they had practiſed in *France*; for they were made uſe of in the Valleys, and ſomewhat refin'd. The *Vandois* ſhewing more Courage than the French Proteſtants had done, reſuſed to renounce their Religion, ſo that a world were murdered in cold Blood, and the reſt were committ'd into the naſty Priſons of *Carmagnole*, *Vercell*, and other Places. Some few who made their eſcape, aſſembled again in the Mountains, and maintained ſo vigorous a War, that the Duke of *Savoy* was very glad at laſt to treat with them; by the Mediation of the Reformed Cantons, and gave them leave to depart his Dominions, obliging himſelf to releaſe their Priſoners, which were reduced to about 2000 Men, Women, and Children, the reſt having been murdered in their Priſons, by the hard uſage they met, and want of Viſtuals. The Duke was likewiſe obliged by the ſaid Treaty, &c. That the ſaid *Vandois* ſhould retire with their Arms, that their Priſoners ſhould be cloathed, conducted, and have their charges born to the Frontiers of *Swiſſerland*, where the Cantons ſhould cauſe them to be received and conducted into the heart of their Country; which laſt Clauſe was long debated, the Duke of *Savoy* inſiſting, that the Cantons ſhould oblige themſelves to prevent the return of the *Vandois* into their Valleys.

As he knew better than any body the Courage of that people, and how much they loved their Country, the world was convinced two years after that his ſuſpicions were not groundleſs, for the *Vandois* headed by the famous *Montſieur Arnaud*, one of their Miniſters, who is now in *England*, croſſed the Lake of *Geneva*, and forced their way into their Valleys, beating the French and *Savoyards* who oppoſed their paſſage, where about one thouſand men maintained the War againſt the power of *France* and *Savoy*, till the Duke declared for the Allies.

I will not attempt here to give an account of the wonderful Actions of that People, I hear an exact account of em is already in the Preſs, written by an Eye-witneſs, and therefore I conclude this Article with this obſervation, that of all the Enemies of *France*, the *Vandois* alone have, during the late War, raiſed yearly contributions upon the French, by approbation of the French King and his Generals, and that 'tis owned that above 20000 of their men have periſhed by their means.

The Duke of *Savoy* having made a ſeparate Treaty with *France*, and obliged himſelf to baniſh out of the Valleys ſuch Inhabitants thereof, as were formerly Subjects to *France*, moſt of thoſe *Vandois*, who had done him ſo great ſervices, were forced to retire again into *Swiſſerland*, and are now ſettling themſelves in *Germany* by the charitable contributions of all the Proteſtant States

An Account of the continuation of the Persecution in France, and of the present Condition of the Protestants in that Kingdom.

THe Persecution of the French Reformed did not end in the year 1685, for it was renewed about *Easter* 1686 with more severity than ever. The Clergy had flattered themselves, that after the severities I have mentioned in the foregoing Chapter, every body would submit to the Empire of their Bloody *Babylon*, but when they saw the constancy of the Confessors, and the repentance of their *New Converts*, who every where declared their abhorrence of the Romish Idolatry, they were enraged against them. The Dragoons were again sent against them to extort Confessions, that they had voluntarily embraced the *Catholic* Religion, and force them to perform all the *Duties* of the Roman Catholics, that is, to go to Mass, to Confess, and receive their pretended Sacrament. They dragged them to the Churches, and there most cruelly beat them, without any respect for a place, which ought to be sacred to them, to force them to receive the Host, which according to their principles, is an unparallel'd impiety, and plainly discovers, that the Clergy of *France* in general, are a pack of Atheists and villanous Fellows, worthy of the hatred and scorn of all the World; for what other opinion can we have of that bloody Crew, when we see, that they profane at that rate, what they profess to believe to be the true body of Christ.

As the Protestants had an utter aversion for so great an abomination, it hapned in several places, they vomited up and spit out the Host, which the Priests thrust by force down their Throats. The Widow of the Minister of *Miremont* in *Guienne* having done so, the Priest exclaimed; *Oh unhappy wretch, what have you done? you have spit out your God, if you had murdered 60000 men, you would not be so guilty,* and yet he was himself the occasion of it. Some few Roman Catholics, considering the impiety of those forced Communiions, could not forbear to blame it, but the Council of Conscience, and the Bishops were ruled by a quite different Divinity. The Bishop of *St. Pons* alone had Religion and Courage enough to oppose that great profanation, tho without any success; and because I love to do justice to every body, I'll insert here part of the Letter he writ to the Commander in chief of the French Troops in *Languedoc* in the year 1687; and because he speaks therein of some people being put to death upon this very account.

'The Church has been always very tender and careful about the administration of the *Most Holy*, that *Dogs* may not receive it, that is, that unbelievers and sinners may not be admitted to participate of it, till the former have given a sufficient evidence of their Faith, and the latter of their Repentance. Nevertheless, Sir, you make use of the Kings Troops, to compel every body to approach the Lords Table without any distinction. They have put to Death some of those impious persons, who spit out and trample under foot the Eucharist; but is not Christ more offended by such, who violently force him down the Throat of Infidels and Sinners, such as are, by your own Confession, many of those whom your Troops compel to communicate? This is the abomination of Desolation, and all Christians ought to shed Tears and prostrate themselves before his divine Majesty, who is so highly offended by so many Profanations and Sacriledges. Do not deceive your self, Sir, and fancy your self innocent, because, as you tell me, you are not concerned therein, otherwise than for executing the orders of Bishops and Priests; this is an illusion that the least use of your reason may dissipate. You ought to write to Court; happy if you are disgraced or otherwise ill used for so glorious a cause &c.

This disposition of the New Converts being such, all the Prisons in *France* were soon crowded with Prisoners, who were accused either of re-

refusing to perform their duties, or to have a design to quit the Kingdom, or to have been at some Religious Assemblies, to pray to God in their own way. This last Crime was so highly resented, that a world of People have been murdered upon this account, and I cannot forbear to mention here, that Justice forgot on this occasion its usual Clemency, for 'tis the common practice of all Nations to relieve a Woman with Child, till she is brought to Bed, notwithstanding her Crime be never so great, they put to death in France several women big with Child, because they had been at some meetings. Thus the Wife of one Mr *Gaches* an Inhabitant of *Cevennes*, being convicted of having been present in one of these meetings was hanged, tho she was gone above five months, and thereby an Infant was condemned to dye before it was born, because his mother had carried him in her womb, to an Assembly where they committed no other Crime, but to pray to God, notwithstanding the prohibition of Men.

The greatest care of the Persecutors was to overcome the constancy of Confessors, I mean those brave and generous Souls, who had suffer'd the loss of their Estates, and all the Torments that the malice of men could invent, without staggering in the least. They put them in the darkest Prisons, and used them with such inhumanities that no man can describe; and because I have not room to enlarge upon this Article, I'll content my self with one instance, whereby the Reader may judge of all others.

One of the most cruel Prisons that was made use of, was the Hospital of *Valence* in *Dauphine*; for the Bishop of that place, the most cruel Persecutor that ever was, (the same who at the head of the Clergy extolled so much the clemency of the French King in converting his Subjects) had appointed for Overseer of that Hospital, one *Rapine*, whose *Merie* and *Zeal* he had been acquainted with, while they were Servants in the Family of a Prince, he as Chaplain, and *Rapine* as Fiddler. Whatever it be, the Bishop set him up for a Converter, and he made such a progress in that Science, that they sent him the most obstinate *Huguenots* from the Neighbouring Provinces to convert them. The method he used were indeed very singular, as the Reader may see by the following account of the Torments one Mr *Menuret*, an Advocate of *Montelimar* in *Dauphine*.

This Gentleman was one of the Elders of the Protestant Church in that place, and when the Dragoons came to Convert 'em, he made it his business to go from House to House, to exhort them to stand firm in their Profession. The Governour caused him to be taken up, and kept him Prisoner for three months, in one of the Rooms of the Castle, after which he received orders to put him into a dark and nasty hole. This being not able to overcome him, they took him out 6 months after very much swollen, and sent him to *Rapine*, who welcom'd him with these words, *Is it thou who hast been six months in Prison? You may say nine*, answered Mr *Menuret*, without being daunted in the least. *Well, well*, reply'd *Rapine*, frowning upon him, *we shall see whether thou wilt prove so obstinate under my care*. He put him in a stinking place just above the sink of all the filthiness of the Hospital, and gave him only a short Plank to lye upon. There is in that horrid hole a kind of Window, thro which the Prisoners may look into the Chappel when they say Mass, and *Rapine* tried all possible means to bring him to that Window, but his endeavours proving vain, he resolv'd to try a more effectual way for his Conversion. He brought him into the Court, and ty'd him to a Mulbury-tree in such a manner, that his Toes could hardly reach the ground, and afterwards having torn his Cloaths and Shirt, he, with two other men, beat him with an unparalleled cruelty till they were weary themselves. They rested some time to take breath, and then beat him again till he was almost

most dead. *Rapine* continued this exercise for a Fortnight together, and sometimes twice in a day, which put Mr *Memuret* to such exquisite torments, that two Capuchin Fryars, who were witnesses of that barbarity, expressed some horror against it, and desired *Rapine* to let him alone, saying he was Gods creature as well as they.

He was somewhat better used after this concern of the Fryars, but after ten months imprisonment, and several sorts of torments that were tried to convert him, it pleased God to free him from those Monsters, and to crown his suffering. The Bishop of *Valence* came to visit him, but having not been able to persuade him, that *Cannibal* told *Rapine*, that he alone was able to overcome his obstinacy, and so that cruel Man with the two Companions of his cruelties went into the Prison, being resolved to try the last remedies. 'Tis not known, what they did there, but from the outcry of the poor Martyr, which were heard by other Prisoners and Servants in the Hospital, 'tis concluded that they used some new and unheard of sort of torment, which put an end to his Life, for those *monsters* returning again two hours after to the Prison to renew their converting argument, they found him dead, and so out of their power.

A great number of People dyed in the hands of this monster, and some had the courage and strength to resist, and among others two Gentlewomen whom I have seen in *England*, who gave me the account of Mr *Memuret's* Sufferings, and several other particulars too long to be inserted here.

Some of the Confessors, who were proof against their cruelties, were shipp'd off for the French Plantations in *America* to be there Slaves, but this severity making too great a noise, the others who were still Prisoners in *France*, were banished the Kingdom.

As to the rest of the *New Converts*, as they call them, they have enjoy'd in some places a sort of Tranquility during the late War, but the Peace was no sooner proclaimed, but the Clergy resumed their former Cruelties, and have obtained of the French King a more ample power to torment them than they ever had before, notwithstanding the Protestant Princes had interceded in their behalf, by a Memorial delivered by their Ministers to the French Plenipotentiaries at *Reswick*. They have taken their Children from them; they ruin them by fines and imprisonments, and they are threatned with a worse treatment unless they comply with the Kings command, to use their own Phrase. Their Gallies are crowded with people accused of having assisted in some meetings to pray to God, or to have gone to *Orange* on the same purpose: several persons have been put to death for the same account, and amongst others Monsieur *Brousson*, a Minister, who was broke upon the Wheel at *Mompallier*, November 4. 1698, N. S. But the subject being too large to be treated of in the narrow bounds of this Book, I refer it to another, which, God willing, I design to publish in a short time, and I desire such Refugees, who have Memoirs that may be depended upon, and are fit to be communicated to the world, to be pleased to contribute to this work, and send them to the publishers of this Book.

Thus I think I have sufficiently proved, what I have asserted in the beginning of this Book, viz. that the Persecution exercised in the present French Kings Reign, is the most unnatural and barbarous that ever was, and that Popery is the most unaccountable Sect, that ever appeared in the World, as well as the most pernicious to Mankind, from whence I conclude, that it behoves every *English* man to have a watchful eye on the intrigues of Papists here, who doubtless are still carrying on their former designs against us, I mean our Ruin and Destruction, which, I pray God. we may never give 'em opportunity to effect by our unhappy Divisions.

